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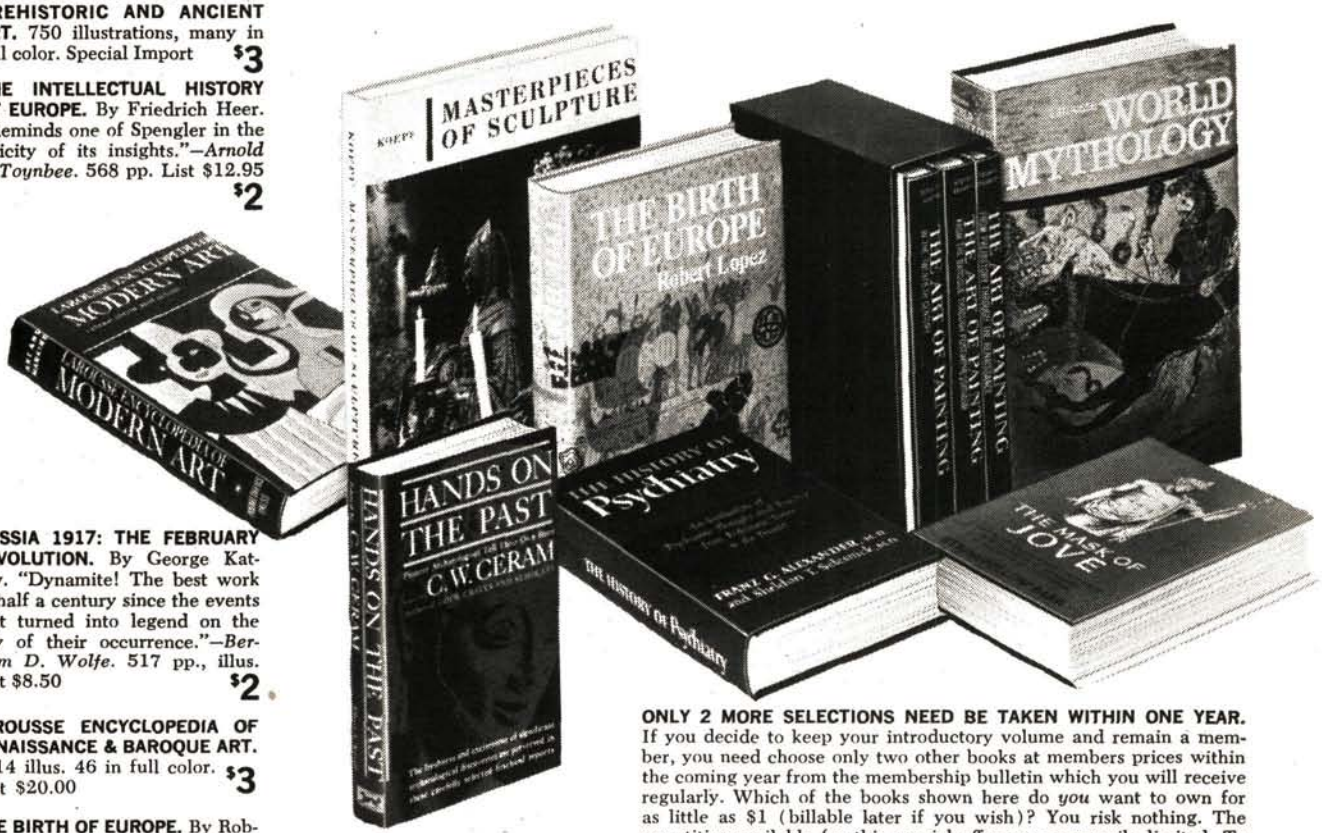

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Hating LBJ

★ They called Washington "King George of Mount Vernon." Poor John Adams was "Perfidious Patriot." Lincoln was "Baboon in the White House." Teddy Roosevelt was mostly just a "liar" or "scoundrel." We all know how they denounced FDR. But for real dislike we think we have not seen in our time what opponents, particularly intellectuals, lavish on Lyndon Johnson. This isn't contempt; this is fear and hatred.

Here is a burlesque Shakespearean play in New York where Johnson, like Macbeth, murders his predecessor; not really, you understand; it is all just fun and Johnson is merely depicted as capable of murder. Left-wing critics hail the play as some kind of new art form; it disgusts us. Here is a new book by Robert Sherrill, *The Accidental President*, which is quoted in the advertisement as saying of Mr. Johnson, "he is in fact treacherous, dishonest, manic, aggressive, petty, spoiled and above all, accidental."

The redoubtable Walter Lippmann, a man we immensely admire, takes out after Mr. Johnson in numbered columns. He is above name calling but his cut perhaps is deeper: "There has never been a time when the President and the working press distrusted each other as they do today." Perhaps not, though we find a grudging admiration among our colleagues at the very complexities of this larger-than-life man, so hard-working, so wanting-to-be-loved, so unpopular. According to Mr. Gallup, only 37 percent approve the way he is handling Vietnam; the great mass want a tougher war, and oppose him because he won't give it to them. (They are 4-to-1 against a bombing pause.)

Mr. Johnson's troubles mount. The South detests him because he has gone so far, Negroes because he hasn't gone far enough. The most sweeping social welfare program since FDR is scored by delighted conservatives because of administrative difficulties.

Then there's the business pause and the huge deficit Edwin L. Dale pointed out last week as likely just before the 1968 conventions. Republicans are exultant. They begin to count Senate seats and think of Jerry Ford as Speaker (who opposes a Soviet détente) and Dirksen as Senate leader (who would repeal one-man, one-vote). Well, our crystal ball is cloudy, there's a crack in the lower elliptic. But it's a long, long way still to election.

This Year's Riot

★ Spring surges up from the South, mockingbirds sing, cherry blossoms return and soon it will be riot weather. Last year the riots started in June: two months to go. It looks like a long, hot summer. Riots are steamed out of fetid ghettos like yellow fever, born of degradation, stinking garbage and a newly discovered sense of racial revolt. It's an American disease, indigenous to the dollar. There is a spark, a flash, a conflagration, window-smashing, sniping, looting, a city disorganized, a few deaths and maybe the National Guard. Communist newspapers lap it up.

Sociologists have prognostications for riots but rioting always surprises cities, particularly in the North; last year they shut off a fire hydrant in Chicago in 98 degree heat; result – 372 arrested, six cops wounded, two Negroes killed. Riots in Watts, Cleveland, Brooklyn, Omaha, Baltimore, San Francisco, Jacksonville, Atlanta. Will it be your city this summer?

There's no real change in the situation; worse if anything. George Wallace defies integration. Congress is cutting back funds, the War on Poverty in some places has become the War Against the Poor. Mr. Johnson asks for $2.06 billion for the Office of Economic Opportunity; when OEO started there was talk of $5 billion. Here's an example, reported by John Barnett in *The Wall Street Journal*: OEO funds for East Liberty, Pittsburgh, are being cut from $2,923,000 last year to $1,282,000 this – "We've got 400 kids here who will be back out in the streets when that happens," says a school worker. Well, we can all put our backs to it and fight crime, anyway.

Unemployment is about the same or a little worse than last year, about 3.6 percent for the nation and 12.9 percent in a town like Philadelphia (Department of Labor figure). Other cities in keeping. Actual Negro ghetto unemployment may be 20-25 percent.

What really ensures riots in this winsome summer of 1967 is what happened here in Congress on September 14 (final vote September 19). A GOP-Southern coalition ganged up to kill the Johnson 1966 Civil Rights Act with its open-housing provision. There were majorities in both houses *for* this bill and the House passed it. But it takes two-thirds to apply cloture to a Senate filibuster, and the majority was only 54-42 (D, 42-21; R, 12-21).

The vote meant the Negro GI coming back from Vietnam would find segregated housing. If he were going to make progress he would have to take it. We couldn't really blame weathervane Dirksen either; in an indirect but real way the Senate spoke for the nation. (A Gallup poll last week, we notice, reports that the country opposes open housing, 3-2.) "So," we thought last summer, "in the showdown, that's the kind of nation we are." Rather than take open housing we prefer riots.

Westmoreland

★ When US political parties can't decide on a regular presidential candidate they turn to generals. This is so particularly in or after wars. Six generals of the regular army have been nominated. Zachary Taylor, Winfield Scott, George McClellan, Grant, Winfield Scott Hancock and Dwight Eisenhower.

In addition, Leonard Wood and Douglas MacArthur were serious contenders. And four war heroes were elected: George Washington, Andrew Jackson, William Henry Harrison and Theodore Roosevelt. It is a deep, almost irresistible American instinct. Note: Gen. William C. Westmoreland is the honor speaker at the Associated Press annual luncheon in New York, April 23.

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Appeals to Reason

The deference accorded the far-seeing is seldom matched by obedience to their counsel. On March 28, the world's two leading spokesmen for the universal community – a Christian and a Buddhist – appealed to our reason and humanity. In time the sanity of their words will be generally recognized. But for the moment both the encyclical letter of Pope Paul VI and the statement of the Secretary General of the United Nations on Vietnam are documents governments file and forget.

The Pope's agenda for "a new humanism" is radical and reasonable. Radical, because it goes to the root of our affiliations and because the remedies it proposes, if understood, would jolt very many members of the United States Congress. Reasonable, because it prescribes no more than what we are capable of doing. The Pope again notes that "rich peoples enjoy rapid growth, whereas the poor develop slowly," and he points to "the scandal of glaring inequalities, not merely in the enjoyment of possessions but even more in the exercise of power." These disparities will not be overcome by narrow-minded self-interest, nor the saving grace of private property. "No one is justified," the Pope says, "in keeping for his exclusive use what he does not need, when others lack necessities." Concretely, "if certain landed estates impede the general prosperity because they are extensive, unused or poorly used, or because they bring hardship to peoples or are detrimental to the interests of the country, the common good sometimes demands their expropriation." It is "unfortunate" when society "considers profit as the key motive for economic progress, competition as the supreme law of economics, and when private ownership of the means of production has an absolute right that has no limits and carries no corresponding social obligation." "Make haste," he cries, for "too many are suffering, and the distance is growing that separates the progress of some and the stagnation, not to say the regression, of others." These "others" will not remain complacent. Revolutionary uprisings will be "a grave temptation." And the Pope sees that revolution may be justified, "where there is manifest long-standing tyranny which would do great damage to fundamental personal rights and dangerous harm to the common good of the country."

Since the world's population is growing more rapidly than available resources, the encyclical acknowledges the right of public authorities to "intervene within the limit of their competence, by favoring the availability of appropriate information and by adopting suitable measures, provided that these be in conformity with the moral law and

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that they respect the rightful freedom of married couples." But slowing down the reproduction rate is not enough to meet the needs of the underdeveloped countries. The rich must do more. For example, "it should be considered quite normal for an advanced country to devote a part of its production to meet their needs, and to train teachers, engineers, technicians and scholars prepared to put their knowledge and their skill at the disposal of less fortunate peoples." What Pope Paul thinks ought to be "quite normal" is anything but today – as is shown by the fierceness of the fight each year in Congress to keep alive a modest foreign aid program, amounting to .7 percent of our national income (and that includes military aid).

The Pope asks for "worldwide collaboration of which a common fund would be both means and symbol." Given such an international framework, not unlike what Paul Hoffman and others have suggested, aid "would be beyond all suspicion, and as a result there would be less distrust on the part of the receiving nations. These would have less cause for fearing that, under the cloak of financial aid or technical assistance, there lurk certain manifestations of what has come to be called neo-colonialism, in the form of political pressures and economic suzerainty aimed at maintaining or acquiring complete dominance." The theme here has been made familiar by Senator Fulbright – responsibility uncorrupted by the arrogance of power or parochialism. "Freed of all nationalistic pride and of every appearance of racism," Pope Paul says, "experts should learn how to work in close collaboration with all, [realizing] their competence does not confer on them a superiority in every field. The civilization which formed them contains, without doubt, elements of universal humanism, but it is not the only civilization, nor does it enjoy a monopoly of valuable elements."

On the same day, U Thant met the press in New York. His was a more immediate, though nonetheless urgent, concern. Without peace in Vietnam, any hope of mobilizing moral concerns and resources for a war against global poverty is barren. The US budget illustrates that. From mid-1964 to June 30, 1968, $47 billion will have been allocated for the war in Vietnam. By comparison, total US grants for all foreign economic development from 1953 through 1965 were slightly over $26 billion. In the coming fiscal year alone, the war will consume $22.4 billion – many times the amount rich America will invest in Pope Paul's "war on misery."

Once again, U Thant put forward a peace proposal, only to confess its failure: "It is all too clear that the positions of the parties have never been so far apart." While seeming to accept the Secretary General's plan, the US managed to slip out from under it. U Thant had asked for an immediate and unsupervised cease-fire, with talks to follow; Washington replied that it would be willing to *talk* about a cease-fire. U Thant called for discussions, following a cease-fire which would involve "all those who are actually fighting," including ". . . representatives of the National Front of Liberation of South Vietnam"; Washington's reply referred only to negotiations with Hanoi, and a March 19 aide-memoire to the UN Secretary General from the Ky government specifically excluded the National Liberation Front from any "preliminary talks." The Secretary General repeated that "a cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam continues to be a vital need, for moral and humanitarian reasons and, also, because it is the step which could lead the way to meaningful talks to end the war." Washington ignored that, and the initial reaction from Hanoi was likewise evasive. What would be the consequences, the leaders in Hanoi as well as the Viet Cong must have asked themselves, of a stand-fast which leaves nearly one million adversary forces in the South against 65,000 Viet Cong, and 45,000 North Vietnamese, soldiers?

When the narrow-minded rule, the broad-minded can only beseech. They will prevail in the long run, but what consolation is that for them – or for the suffering world they would heal?

Keeping It in the Family

The President's committee on CIA reform – Undersecretary of State Katzenbach, HEW Secretary Gardner and CIA Director Helms – recommends, Mr. Johnson concurring, that Agency funds to American educational or private volunteer organizations be cut off. So far so good. But enforcement of the new policy, and the granting of exceptions to it, is left in the hands of the senior interdepartmental review committee – Walt Rostow of the White House, Foy Kohler of State, Deputy Secretary of Defense Vance, and Mr. Helms – precisely the committee that reviewed and approved what CIA has been doing but must no longer do. There is no reference in the Katzenbach report, moreover, to a covert financing of foreign organizations, which are the subsidies that most worry foreigners and are most likely to get the US into trouble.

The report hopes to cleanse private American operations overseas from the taint of government manipulation. To this end it proposes the establishment of a "public-private mechanism" with a "high degree of independence," that could support "in a mature, open manner" the kinds of activities previously financed by the Central Intelligence Agency. This proposal is to be refined by a new presidential committee. And who is its chairman? Another member of the family, the untainted Secretary of State.

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The Quinine Caper

When those who buy quinine or quinidine (drugs commonly used in the treatment of malaria and heart disorders) plunk down their money at the local pharmacy, they pay a sizable hidden toll – amounting now to perhaps $5 million a year – to an international cartel dominated by Dutch and German interests. Since the turn of the century the cartel has systematically and almost continuously fixed prices, rigged bids, divided territories, artificially curtailed production. The members, as one participant crisply put it, work together "in an atmosphere of cooperation" so as "to keep prices high." While all of this has been widely known for some time to students of antitrust, Senator Philip A. Hart's (D, Mich.) antitrust and monopoly subcommittee has just turned its spotlight on the cartel and exposed its inner, and hitherto most secret, workings with the aid of a batch of documents – got on a tip – that contain the detailed minutes of cartel conclaves.

Usually members of this cartel hold a tight grip on supply, but back in 1962 they feared that the US might sell its huge stockpile of quinine to smaller, nonmember buyers and thus undermine its position. American officials were aware of this possibility, too, but they took no precautions to see that the stockpile remained out of cartel hands and, in fact, passively acquiesced in its sale to the organization. The Justice Department, though disturbed about the "serious antitrust" implications, deferred to the State Department, and State, under pressure from the Dutch Embassy, was far more anxious to maintain "friendly relations" with The Hague (and the Queen, we might add, who is rumored to have a proprietary stake in Nedchem, the Dutch cartel giant). Consequently 14 million ounces of quinine fell easily into the hands of the cartel.

Although the Senate subcommittee has not come up with any hard evidence of the cartel's operations since 1963, the elimination of the stockpile threat unquestionably increased its leverage. And prices recently have been soaring. Helped along somewhat by unsubstantiated and inaccurate reports that the Defense Department would need umpteen tons of quinine to fight off malaria in Vietnam, prices of quinine and quinidine have risen by five times between 1964 and 1966. Bulk quinine has gone up in value from 21 cents (the price at which the cartel bought from the stockpile in 1962) to approximately $4 an ounce in the last five years. For the typical heart patient, this has meant that the cost of a month's supply of quinidine has climbed from $2 to nearly $10 since 1964 – serious enough in itself, but especially so for the elderly who make up a large percentage of the drug's users. Moreover, the cartel does not exploit only Americans: it also levies a heavy toll on the poor of the tropics.

What can be done? With the cartel now in control of most of the world supply of quinine, the US has very limited leverage. A portion of the existing national stockpile could be released to noncartel sources, but even with four million ounces on hand (far in excess of current and anticipated military requirements, incidentally), not enough is available to bring down the price for more than a short period of time. Then, with our reserves exhausted, the cartel would be the complete master. In the longer run, new sources of supply and substitute drugs could be developed (the Indonesian government might be induced to increase its quinine output and research on synthetics can be stepped up), but while these avenues should be pursued, they will provide no immediate relief.

The Antitrust Division of the Justice Department has shown little interest in the cartel (it has recently shunted off responsibility for investigating the case to the Federal Trade Commission). The division could launch an inquiry of its own, then initiate criminal action or take steps to enforce a 1928 antitrust decree in which cartel members agreed to refrain from certain illicit practices "within the United States." However, if Antitrust does so, it is unlikely to obtain any meaningful relief, since the key members of the cartel are outside this country and make every effort to avoid carrying on any business within our borders. Even if an American court were to assert jurisdiction, it is extremely doubtful that it would be able to do more than verbally condemn the cartel.

The cartel's evils make wonderful newspaper fare (one story appeared under the banner, "The Dutch Quinine Blackmail: Pay or Die"). But they are only symptomatic of a larger, more complex problem. Monopolistic practices are by no means confined to quinine, nor are they exclusively the province of foreigners (two minor quinine cartel members are subsidiaries of American parent corporations). The United States cooperates in, initiates, and approves widespread monopolistic arrangements of its own. For example, our airlines participate in IATA (which sets international air fares) and our ocean shippers are members of rate-fixing conferences. Our companies can and do form export associations which fix prices and allocate markets exempt from usual antitrust prohibitions with the result that just as we complain of the quinine cartel, so too do the Europeans assail our sulphur and potash cartels. There is only one way to control international monopoly: some sort of international cooperation. Here then is where the United States could make a major contribution by offering to police and suppress monopolistic practices of its nationals which harm the economies of other countries in exchange for equivalent protection from other states.

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Sunflower in the Spring

Fannie Lou Hamer came north last month to let folks know "the movement" is not dead, at least not in Sunflower County, Mississippi, and that there is going to be a happening there in the spring. She and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) think that with a little bit of luck, and help, they can win a victory on May 2 in the small town of Sunflower (population 650), in a court-ordered rerun of municipal elections there and in the neighboring town of Moorhead (population, about 1,700). It would be quite a victory, for Senator James Eastland's 5,800-acre plantation sits just four miles from Sunflower.

A private suit had been filed in April, 1965 (Hamer *v* Campbell), charging that Negroes were being discriminated against in voter registration. On March 11, 1966, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals found that indeed, "a pattern and practice of racial discrimination" did exist – and according to the MFDP still does. Yet no federal registrars have set foot there. They have been in Bolivar County to the west of Sunflower, in Leflore County to the east of it.

Civil rights activists suspect of course that the Justice Department has been influenced by the fact that Eastland's powerful Judiciary Committee holds sway over its activities. Shortly after the Fifth Circuit decision, a group of congressmen visited the then-Attorney General, Nicholas Katzenbach, to urge him to send federal registrars to Sunflower County. They called attention to the court finding that the local registrar had been discriminating against prospective Negro registrants, and that the court was therefore setting aside the municipal elections held in 1965. Katzenbach said that until he had "hard evidence" of present discrimination he preferred to work through the local registrars; moreover, he had received no complaints from Sunflower.

As of that time, one year ago, 85 percent of the eligible white voters in the county were registered and 13 percent of the eligible Negroes. Today 24 percent of eligible Negroes are on the voting rolls and 76 percent of the whites. Negroes outnumber whites in the county by about two to one.

Mrs. Hamer and the MFDP believe that if a fair election is held May 2, Negroes will participate in the government of the town of Sunflower for the first time since reconstruction. There are Negro candidates for mayor, city clerk, and three of the five alderman positions. Two alderman slots on the MFDP slate were set aside for whites. "It may be a shock to some people in the north," Mrs. Hamer said in New York, "but we have begun to work with poor whites." Mrs. Hamer fears, however, that in the absence of federal registrars or watchers Negroes may be intimidated from casting their ballots. Those with jobs may lose them if they run for office, or even if they vote. "Nothing has changed in Mississippi," she says. Homes and churches are still burned. The Negroes can expect little help from the local police, the local press, or even the local anti-poverty organization. The latter was run until recently by Bryce Alexander, a former Indianola, Miss., police chief, who had a reputation for breaking up voter registration meetings and arresting civil rights workers. Seventy percent of the Negroes in Sunflower town are unemployed. Others earn 30 cents an hour in the cotton fields, or $2.50 a day in white homes.

A victory in Eastland's backyard would send shock waves throughout the state. In the fall there will be county elections in all of Mississippi, and Mrs. Hamer and her organizers see a success in Sunflower as the prelude to a massive, statewide voter registration drive. And Sunflower has symbolic significance in another way: it is the location of Parchmann Penitentiary, where many civil rights workers and Mississippi Negroes have been subjected to harsh, sometimes brutal treatment.

The MFDP has been trying to pressure the Justice Department and congressmen to guarantee the presence of federal registrars, examiners and official election observers for May 2. It is raising funds for upcoming campaigns, leadership training programs, voter registration drives, as well as for food and clothing to offset hardships that candidates and their supporters anticipate. They want legislators and other prominent Americans to go to Sunflower as watchers. An office set up in New York (799 Broadway) by the National Committee for Free Elections in Sunflower to coordinate these activities, has sponsors ranging from Harry Belafonte and Julian Bond to J. K. Galbraith, Stokely Carmichael and Reps. William F. Ryan and Benjamin Rosenthal of New York.

To dispel any idea that a civil rights movement is no longer needed, Mrs. Hamer reminded her New York audience that "in 1965 when we filed the Sunflower election suit, three houses were burned the same night. A month ago [February] it was announced that I was to speak at one of the biggest churches in Grenada, Miss. It was burned before I got a chance to speak there. If Wharlest Jackson was killed . . . because he was upgraded to a job held by a white man, aren't we in danger for fighting for a white man's political office?"

Fanny Lou Hamer's call for help got little notice by the New York press. For on that day in the same place – the office of Manhattan borough president Percy Sutton – James Meredith was explaining his withdrawal from the race against Adam Clayton Powell. That, and the news and photographs from Bimini, took precedence.

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One Man, One Vote

On April 20th last year, the opponents of the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote decision attempted to push through the Senate an amendment to the Constitution which would have made malapportionment constitutional. They failed to muster the necessary two-thirds vote. They then turned to the other amendment route: a constitutional convention called by Congress at the request of two-thirds of the state legislatures. A *New York Times* report of March 18 calculated that we are now only two states away from such a convention. It is claimed, moreover, that once 34 state legislatures have called for a constitutional convention no one can stop the amending process.

What are the facts?

Twenty-six of the legislatures had not been reapportioned at the time they enacted these resolutions. It is difficult to see how such resolutions can be legitimate (unless subsequently passed by a fairly apportioned legislature).

Two of the 32 resolutions cannot be counted because they were passed *before* the one-man, one-vote decision and proposed an amendment substantially different from the other thirty.

Constitutional scholars are in agreement that none of these 32 resolutions calls for a constitutional convention in the manner contemplated by the Framers. The Constitution envisions a two-step process: first, a deliberative stage where amendments are considered and proposed in convention, or by Congress; second, a ratification stage. These resolutions omit the first phase; although they take the form of requesting a convention to propose amendments, in fact they request the convention to serve only a ratifying function.

These defects are enough to indicate that the real danger of these state convention calls does not derive from their constitutional potency. What is to be feared is the power of the myth. Congress can be panicked into a frantic search for compromise.

The myth may incline the courts to be particularly cautious in approaching issues that might generate an anti-judiciary backlash.

And the mere possibility of a constitutional convention might lead the Executive Branch to go slow in carrying out certain programs and policies, in order to conciliate state governments.

These are real dangers. They can be countered.

First, the resolutions can be rescinded by popular demand. Not only were 26 of them passed by legislatures which were malapportioned at the time of enactment, but since then, 20 of those 26 legislatures have been reapportioned and elections held under the new scheme. In the following 20 states the reconstituted and newly elected legislatures might respond to a popular drive to rescind:

Alabama	Nevada
Arizona	New Hampshire
Arkansas	New Mexico
Florida	North Carolina
Idaho	South Carolina
Maryland	Tennessee
Minnesota	Utah
Missouri	Virginia
Montana	Washington
Nebraska	Wyoming

(Two other states, Kansas and South Carolina, have held elections for one house under fair apportionment, and those legislatures might also be responsive to a drive for rescission. The Maryland legislature last week came within one vote of rescinding its earlier resolution.)

Second, there is a need to ascertain, in court, the constitutional status and effect of those resolutions. The courts have recognized and given specific form to a distinctive, judicially protected interest of those newly enfranchised under reapportionment. It behooves the court to determine whether or not the interest it sought to protect was vitiated from the outset. It is conceivable that reapportionment of state legislatures and a subsequent election constituted an automatic rescission of those resolutions.

Third, representatives and senators should be asked to stand up and be counted as to whether they will be pressured into accepting resolutions by malapportioned legislatures as self-validating. Senator Dirksen has said that one cannot treat these resolutions as illegal without treating all past acts of malapportioned legislatures as illegal. But there is an obvious difference between a state law which binds the citizens of a state, and a state law which purports to exercise the very power of the Constitution to bind the Congress of the United States. More fundamentally, the age-old principle that the law does not permit one to profit from one's misdeeds is applicable where unconstitutionally derived

COMING: *David Sanford takes a calm look at the marijuana scare on the campus*

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power is being exercised to immunize itself from the corrective forces of the democratic process.

These are the points where battle must be joined. Fortunately, it remains possible to prevent a constitutional convention being forced down the throat of the nation. Senator Dirksen's present strategy would permit between 15 and 20 percent of the American people to use past (even extinct) malapportionment to dictate to the other 80 or 85 percent. The Framers had sufficient faith in democracy that they were prepared even to let the sovereign people discard it – so long as that decision was made both democratically and deliberately. That faith is now vindicated by this latest attempt to subvert democracy; for the anti-one man, one vote forces concede as a tactical necessity that their only chance of success is by avoiding both the deliberative and the democratic process.

EDGAR S. *and* JEAN CAMPER CAHN

How Is Youth to Be Served?

by Henry Fairlie

Michael Oakeshott – whose conservative political philosophy is so characteristically English and so individually his own that one can understand why it is so little appreciated in America – once said that the reason the young should not be allowed to participate in politics was "not because of their vices, but because of their virtues." And C. H. Wilson has written: "The first object of a political education is to dispel in the citizen's mind the manifold Utopian notions of man's nature and of the nature of the world with which he emerges from the arduous experience of adolescence. He has to learn that men are moved not only by principle but by interest, that their actions are aimed not only at the discharge of duty but also at the satisfaction of passion, appetite and unreflecting habit. He has to learn that the world in which he acts is a world of scarcity and that all the resources at his disposal are limited, both material resources of wealth and immaterial ones of time and political support. He must learn that all these resources have alternative uses between which he must choose, and that generally his choice is irrevocable."

Both of these quotations came to my mind as I read the remarks of Senator Robert Kennedy in *The New Republic* of March 11 under the title: "What Can the Young Believe?" I am interested in Senator Kennedy's remarks only because he is one of the most active and most publicized spokesmen of those who insist that the young are today in some unique situation, which demands from their elders some equally unique response.

We are in danger of becoming obsessed by the young: in our lives, in our thinking, in our politics. "The first task of concerned people," says Senator Kennedy, "is not to castigate or deplore – it is to search out the reason for disillusionment and alienation, the rationale of protest." By and large, this has been *one* of the first tasks of "concerned people" – who, by the way, are not? – in most ages. But they have not made so much fuss about it. We should be careful not to spoil the young by a false, and condescending, obsequiousness or flattery. We should not, by taking them too seriously, invite them too early to take themselves too seriously as well. When Henry Fox found his son being chastised by his nurse for breaking some priceless ornament, he reproved, not his son, but the nurse. "Do not punish the boy. The world will break his spirit soon enough." We cannot all adopt such a lofty Whig attitude, but we can help to prevent their youthful spirit from being broken by a premature and inappropriate responsibility.

The kind of attitudes which lie behind Senator Kennedy's remarks start from a serious confusion about the nature of "generations." As far as my knowledge goes, I do not think that any philosopher or sociologist or anthropologist has yet satisfactorily explained the nature of a "generation." The farthest we have got is to make the kind of distinction which has been succinctly summarized in a recent essay by Arno J. Mayer: "There can be little doubt that 'static conditions make for attitudes of piety,' and that within static societies – especially but not exclusively within static agrarian societies – the tensions and conflicts between generations are essentially nonpolitical, nonideological and nonintellectual. But under the impact of a quickening tempo and exploding scale of social change the almost automatic adaptation to 'traditional patterns of experience, thought and expression' ceases to be possible. A social-political – rather than a biological – generation emerges when its members, following exposure to . . . change, develop a distinctive style and outlook."

None of it is very new. Walter Bagehot, in the intro-

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duction to the second edition of his essays on the English constitution, pointed out that there was a generational change in English politics when those who had entered politics after the Reform Act of 1832 replaced in *office* those who had entered politics before it. Senator Kennedy points to another (I am less certain that it is such a generational watershed), when he says: "These are the children, not of the cold war, but of the thaw."

It is worth noticing one important difference. Bagehot assumed a generational change only when an age group which had enjoyed some common experience at last occupied positions of power and responsibility. Senator Kennedy, true to the spirit of the age, assumes a generational change when all the evidence we have is the attitudes of youth itself. This assumption that generational changes can be observed before a generation has been submitted to the test of responsibility is, of course, one of the more widely accepted, and less convincing, assumptions made by Marshall McLuhan. We would do well to set against it Ortega y Gasset's remark that a man's historical activity really begins at the age of 30.

The Danger of Symbols

We would also do well to remember that, although "social-political" generations are not to be confused with "biological" or family generations, they cannot be entirely separated from them. It is here that we encounter a warning not to be too solemn. I remember asking John Strachey why he and so many like him – brought up in upper-class, conservative, English homes – became socialists after the 1914-18 war. "Because I was not given my place in the First XI in cricket at Eton," he replied. I demurred: there must have been more to it than that. "I am not sure," he said. "I am aware that I wished to revolt against my father and all that he and his generation seemed to me to stand for, and therefore looked for some 'world-picture' to set against his. That is where socialism – or, rather, Marxism – came in. But the occasion of my revolt was being denied my place in the First XI at Eton when I knew that my accomplishment as a batsman entitled me to one."

That Strachey – one of the most habitually honest political minds of his generation – recalled, 40 years later, his exclusion from the cricket team at Eton (because he was an intellectual; because he looked like a Jew) ought to remind us not to erect symbols like the "Berkeley student." The intellectually adventurous and intellectually sensitive have always had a difficult time when they are young, and some kind of "alienation" has normally (even hopefully) been the result. But the sources of that "alienation" are as mixed and puzzling as Strachey suggested. We should be able to retain some good humor about the young, so that they may retain it about themselves. From the flat and decent plateau of middle age, we can envy them many of their opportunities, material and immaterial. But what one cannot envy them is the syrup of "understanding" in which their elders seem determined to drown them. This "understanding" goes so far that I do not believe, from my own observation, that the young today are in revolt against the values and standards of their elders, which would be normal and healthy, for the simple reason that their elders have offered them precious few standards and values against which they can revolt. Their elders could, indeed, be accused of betraying them by abdicating.

Nevertheless, most of the attitudes of the young which Senator Kennedy describes are recognizable, even across 20 years. He makes much, for example, of the fact that few graduating college seniors today hope for a career in business, or think that such a career would be worthwhile or satisfying. "Why? Part of the answer is that the great corporations, which are so large a part of American life, play so small a role in the solution of its vital problems." I think this is hocus-pocus.

The young today, on the whole, despise business for the same reason that the young of my own day despised it: that it *seems* to be concerned only with making money by processes which *seem* to be intellectually and emotionally unsatisfying; and, if the young do not despise the making of money, at an age when they have no responsibilities, then God (although not very hopefully) have mercy on us.

I am not, therefore, surprised that the young should display some "disillusionment" with, and "alienation" from, the big corporations. But it bothers Senator Kennedy, and he thinks that part of the solution is for the big corporations to become more socially conscious. As a conservative (in an English sense) I am extremely suspicious of big business when it becomes socially conscious. One advantage, after all, of being a conservative is that one knows to whom, with however much fastidious disdain, one must look for support.

But Senator Kennedy, while rightly pointing out that the young today are disturbed by the huge "corporate bureaucracy" which seems to control so much of American life, himself applauds precisely those organizations which have made this "corporate bureaucracy" almost respectable: "the work of the NAM in job training, or the work of foundations like Ford and Rockefeller, or the efforts of individuals like Paul Hoffman or Thomas Watson, or corporations like Smith, Kline and French." The hope is to make big business – the actual world – seem respectable, so that the young may accept it: a world which they can understand, and in which they will be understood. But the glory of the young is that

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they have not yet met the world. They have not yet had to come to terms with it and, in their ignorance and their arrogance, they can reject it, and hope to remake it in their own image.

Anyone who has observed the impact of Camus on the intellectually adventurous and sensitive among the young must know what the liturgy of NAM, Hoffman, Smith, Kline and French will mean to them. The title of Camus' novel which has the most immediate impact on them is, in the American edition, mistranslated as *The Rebel*; in the English edition, more accurately translated as *The Outsider*. The young are the only natural Outsiders. They should be allowed to be so as long as possible. "The world will break their spirit soon enough."

The activities of the young, which we are today always being asked to consider so novel, seem to be much the same as those in which the young in my day indulged, and to have their source in the same anxiety: the desire for immediate experience. Of course, there are new factors, although they may not be as exciting as Marshall McLuhan would have us believe. The young today are more numerous and more articulate. They show more signs of intelligence than previous generations of the young – not all previous generations: the young of the 16th century were wonderfully endowed – but fewer signs of disciplined intelligence likely to grow. They have money in their pockets, and therefore are more courted, more publicized, and more presumptuous. But the only new factors which seem to me to introduce any real novelty into their situation are the scientific aids, from records to contraceptives, from travel to LSD, which provide both the temptation and the opportunity to satisfy, far more fully than before, the desire for immediate experience which is the source of the young's impatience.

The Adult Invasion

It is here that one is tempted to try to restrain the young: to suggest to them that they are seeking short cuts to kinds of experience which are only satisfying after considerably more varied efforts and experimentation than are possible by the age of 25, or even 30. Some of the statements made by those who take LSD remind me of the statements made by young girls in previous centuries who claimed they had enjoyed some exceptional visitation from God. Most of these were put through a rigorous examination by the church which, with very little alteration, might profitably be used today.

But even as I write these words I am aware that the inward concentration of the young – whether with the aid of LSD, or of Zen, or of both – may produce a remarkable generation, by the time they are equipped and ready to assume responsibility. I am certainly not prepared to treat their preoccupations (the ordinary preoccupations of the young in any period) as evidence of "disillusionment and alienation." Nor am I prepared to cross the fences which they erect to keep adults out.

But crossing these fences is precisely what our own generation of adults seems most determined to do. Anxious not to be thought "square," they steal the music, imitate the dance, adopt the dress, of the young. Anxious to be thought "understanding," they anxiously follow all that the young do, and, with a giggle, applaud it. This adult invasion of the world of the young is, committed against themselves, a banal act – committed against the young, almost criminal. It is as if the adults today are searching for some kind of reassurance from the young, which is exactly where they have no right to look for it. Generations should keep their fences in good repair.

It is this attitude which I find most displeasing of all those of which Senator Kennedy's remarks are representative. What he, in effect, says is that big business, or the liberals, or the trade unions – the groups which he specifically mentions – must somehow arrange themselves and their activities so that the young will reassure them that they have done a reasonable job, have passed on a reasonable heritage. This is not the test which adult institutions should have to pass. There is one which is much more serious: the test which we ourselves set, with our knowledge of the actual world, our perception of where the sources of corruption lie, and what, immediately, may be done about them.

The protest that matters is that which we manage to sustain, as we outgrow the arduous experience of adolescence, as our knowledge of the real world accumulates, and we suffer the painful process of reconciling ourselves to it. If, when we have learned that the walls of Jericho will not fall at the sound of a trumpet, that Jerusalem will not be built in a day, that Camelot in any age is a frail flower of chivalry – when we have learned how strong are the forces of evil and inaction in the world – if, then, we have still managed to sustain a spirit of protest, it will be worth attention, and it will educate and reform.

It is the knowledge of the adult – *and his survival of that knowledge* – which makes him important. It is too easy to satisfy the protest of the young by offering them hopes: the reflections of their own hopes. By paying too much attention to the young, we try to escape from the stern knowledge which we have gathered, and the stern opportunities (because limited) with which that knowledge endows us. We should leave the young alone until, in time, they can bring their own perceptions to what Robert Ardrey, in *The Territorial Imperative*, calls "our negotiations with the human circumstance."

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Money for the States

by Joseph A. Pechman

First broached in 1964 by Walter W. Heller, the idea that the federal government should share some of its revenues with the 50 states and over 90,000 local governments has an unusual degree of support from moderates in both political parties. The opposition comes mainly from conservatives who always prefer tax reduction to better public services, and from liberals and bureaucrats who believe that major decisions about public services should be made in Washington.

Revenue sharing is intended to allocate to the states and local governments *on a permanent basis* a portion of the very productive and highly "growth-elastic" receipts of the federal government. Most federal revenues come from income taxes that rise at a faster rate than income as income grows. By contrast, state-local revenues barely increase in proportion to income. One reason is that the federal government has virtually preempted the fruitful income tax. Ninety percent of the taxes that are levied on incomes of individuals and businesses in this country goes to the federal government, though 33 of the 50 states tax incomes. States are generally reluctant to increase taxes on incomes, for fear of losing business to other states.

State-local needs have outstripped the potentialities of their revenue system at constant tax rates, so that the rates have been pushed steadily upward throughout the postwar period and many new taxes have been added. But essential public services are starved by governors, mayors, and legislators who naturally try to avoid the politically distasteful – and sometimes politically suicidal – choice of increasing taxes. Furthermore, state-local taxes are on balance regressive; they impose unnecessarily harsh burdens on low-income recipients.

Stripped to essentials, the revenue sharing plan would operate as follows:

► A portion of federal revenues would be automatically set aside each year in a special trust fund on the basis of a predetermined formula.

► Disbursements from the fund would be made primarily on a per capita basis, a method that automatically helps the poorer states relatively more than the richer states.

► The funds would be turned over to the states, with the understanding that a major share would go to the local governments.

► Constraints on the use of the funds would be much less detailed than those applying to conditional grants. However, the funds would not be available for highway construction, since there is a special federal trust fund with its own earmarked revenue sources for this purpose.

► An audit of the actual use of the funds would be required, as well as certification by the appropriate state and local officials that all applicable federal laws, such as the Civil Rights Act, have been complied with in the activities financed by the grants.

The per capita method of distributing the grants was chosen because it is the best available index of state fiscal capacity and need. It allocates more money to the populous states; at the same time, it automatically distributes relatively more to a poor state than to a rich state. For example, a $25 per capita distribution would amount to 10 percent of the budget of a state that can afford to spend $250 per capita and only 5 percent of the budget of a state that can afford to spend $500 per capita. More equalization could easily be provided if desired; for example, a small part of the fund, say, 10 percent, could be allocated to the poorest third of the states. Tax effort could also be given some weight in the formula, thereby encouraging states to maintain or increase tax collections out of their own sources, and penalizing those which might yield to the temptation of reducing state taxes.

On the other hand, it would be totally inappropriate to allocate the funds in proportion to the amounts collected from each state. This would give disproportionately larger shares to the wealthiest states, and would widen rather than narrow differentials in state fiscal capacities.

The same criticism holds for the various types of federal income tax credits for state income taxes, which are often proposed as a substitute for revenue sharing. The tax credit is a method to coerce states to adopt income taxes (and is needed for that reason), but it is not a good device for achieving the equalizing objectives of revenue sharing. So long as state shares of federal money depend on income, wealthy states will do better than the poorer ones.

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Several methods can be used to calculate the amounts to be set aside annually for revenue sharing. The two most important criteria are that (a) the amounts should grow more than in proportion to the growth of the economy, and (b) the changes that might be required with the passage of time should be held to a minimum. The first criterion would be satisfied by any one of a number of growing bases – for example, total federal revenues, total income tax revenues, and the individual income tax base. The second would be satisfied best by the individual income tax base (*i.e.*, taxable income) which is changed only rarely. Actual income tax receipts could also be used, provided Congress is prepared to change the revenue-sharing formula when tax rates change. On balance, the income tax base is preferable.

Another $6 Billion

At this year's expected income levels, that base is in the neighborhood of $300 billion and the allocation would amount to $3 billion for every percentage point of the base. If the Vietnam war were to end soon, the nation could easily afford to allocate two points of the income tax, or $6 billion, for revenue sharing, as an addition to the $15 billion a year that the federal government already sends the states in grants in aid. This extra $6 billion would be enough to finance general grants averaging $30 per capita. At this rate, California would receive about $580 million, New York $560 million, Massachusetts $160 million, Wisconsin $125 million, Maryland $110 million, Mississippi $65 million, and so on. Equally important as the amounts, the grants would automatically grow with the tax base – in a full-employment economy, they would double every nine years.

The plan is often criticized because the states and local governments might be in trouble if the revenue-sharing funds declined during a recession. But it turns out that this is not a matter of great concern. The tax base has declined only twice since the end of World War II – by four percent in 1949 and by less than one-tenth of one percent in 1958. These are within the range of fluctuations that state and local governments are accustomed to in some of their own tax sources. But even if a deep recession occurred, Congress could easily add to the statutory amounts to prevent state-local distress. Few anti-recession measures would satisfy both the efficiency and stabilization objectives as well as revenue sharing. Rather than reducing the federal government's flexibility to combat recessions, as some allege, the plan would provide another useful outlet for federal funds in these circumstances.

Some people have embraced the revenue-sharing plan as a method of undercutting the present federal conditional grant system: a few would even replace the present grants by unconditional or general-purpose grants. But the two types of grants have very different functions and these cannot be satisfied if the federal system were limited to one or the other.

Conditional grants – *e.g.*, for urban renewal and public assistance – are justified on the ground that the benefits of many public services "spill over" from the community in which they are performed to other communities. Expenditures for such services would be too low if financed entirely by state-local sources, because each state or community would tend to pay only for the benefits likely to accrue to its own citizens. States have a well-developed system of conditional grants to local governments for this reason. Additional assistance by the federal government is needed to raise the level of expenditures closer to the optimum from the national standpoint.

General purpose or block grants – *e.g.*, for health, education and welfare as a block – are justified on different grounds. In the first place, all states do not have equal capacity to pay for local services. Even though the revenue effort of the poorer states is average, they are unable to match the revenue-raising ability of the richest states. Second, federal use of the best taxes (*i.e.*, on income) leaves a substantial gap between state-local need and state-local fiscal capacity. Moreover, no state can push its rates much higher than the rates in neighboring states for fear of placing its citizens and business enterprises at a disadvantage. This justifies some federal assistance even for purely state-local activities, with the poorer states needing relatively more help because of their low fiscal capacities.

For these reasons, the general-purpose grants are intended to supplement the conditional grants, not to replace them. Considering the large unmet needs throughout the country for public programs with large spillover effects (education, housing, etc.), adoption of revenue sharing should not be the occasion for reducing conditional grants. It is a well-known axiom of logic that two objectives cannot be satisfied by using only one instrument.

The most serious criticisms of revenue sharing come from those who have lost faith in the state governments. On the whole the states have been doing a good job, although there are exceptions. Without central direction or coercion, they have actually used most of their scarce resources for urgently needed state and local programs. Between 1955 and 1965, general expenditures of state governments rose steeply by $23 billion, to around $40 billion. Of this increase, about 60 percent went for education, health, welfare and housing; more than 40 percent went to education – most of it through grants to local governments. This

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evidence suggests that, if the states were to receive unencumbered funds from the federal government, they would spend them on urgently needed services whether the particular services were stipulated in the legislation or not. To be specific, if the federal government allocated $6 billion for revenue sharing, there is little doubt that about $3 billion of this money would be spent on teachers' salaries, school buildings and other educational needs.

The federal government would, of course, expect the states to pass the funds through to their local governments in an equitable manner, but this is much less of a problem than most people might suppose. All states give aid to local units and most give significant amounts. As a matter of fact, the state grant-in-aid system for local governments is much more highly developed than the federal grant system. In the aggregate, transfers from state to local governments account for more than a third of state expenditures and about 30 percent of local general revenues. By contrast, federal grants amount to only 17 percent of state-local revenues. Thus, even without any specific requirements, the local governments would receive at least a third of any general funds the states might receive from the federal government.

Safeguarding Local Units

But there is no reason why the federal government should not write a "pass-through" formula into the plan to be sure that the states will turn over to their local units an even larger share of the revenue-sharing receipts than they might otherwise allocate. This can be done in two ways:

1. The revenue-sharing legislation might provide that all states must pass along a certain percentage of the grants to their local governments. In view of recent trends, the minimum should be at least 40 percent and might even be as high as 50 percent. This would prevent any state from shortchanging its local governments (although it might be difficult to detect offsetting reductions in existing grants if the state legislature was of a mind to do so). The disadvantage of a fixed percentage is that the extent to which the states delegate responsibilities to, and share revenues with, local governments varies greatly. In some states, the appropriate percentage may well exceed the 50-percent mark, and in others it may be below it. The danger is that any minimum percentage is likely to become a maximum, so that stipulating the percentage may do more harm than good in some states.

2. A more flexible method of handling this problem is to require the governors to prepare detailed plans for the use of the funds. As guidance for the development of these plans, the Congress might indicate the general areas which it regarded as most urgent, including the need for making funds available to local governments. To be sure that the plan represented a broad spectrum of opinion in the state, the governor would be directed to consult with local officials and representatives of local citizens' associations before incorporating the plan in his budget. The development of such plans would provide the occasion for a complete review and possibly a revamping of state-local relations throughout the country.

The second method provides more flexibility and greater opportunity for initiative and innovation in state-local relations. However, if Congress believes this decision cannot be left to the states, the fixed percentage method is certainly consistent with the spirit and intent of the revenue-sharing plan. In either case, the net additional funds that would be funneled to local governments would be greatly increased.

The states are an essential feature of our federal system of government. A local government is efficient to do some things, but not others. In taxation, for example, large local tax rate differentials encourage people to move to other communities or to purchase elsewhere to avoid taxation. As for expenditures, not a single large city has the financial capacity to support higher education, health facilities and other urgent expenditures, as well as to pay for the heavy welfare costs. With the growth in population, the states are rapidly becoming metropolitan governments in the true sense of the word – Maryland and Connecticut, for example. For reasons of efficiency, the state governments cannot be permitted to wither away.

There is little doubt that the quality of state governments varies greatly. But this is changing quickly in many parts of the country, as the effects of reapportionment are felt. Furthermore, there is no point in denying urgent fiscal aid to the "good" states merely because there are some "bad" states ("good" or "bad" in their attitude toward public services). As the last election demonstrated, states change complexion rapidly – Maryland is an example of a state that went from bad to good last November, and California is an example of one that went from good to bad. It should also be added that the state governments do not have a monopoly on incompetence – many of the federal bureaucracies administering grants are something less than models of efficiency.

In brief, revenue sharing will provide the states with a growing source of income from taxes that are much more equitable than those now available to them. Much of this money will go to local governments with or without legislative safeguards. There is no better way to help finance the urgently needed public services, and at the same time, to strengthen our federal system of government.

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Social Problem-Solvers

by James Ridgeway

Abt Associates, Inc., of Cambridge, Mass., uses technology in attempting to solve complex social and economic problems. This is a relatively new sort of work, and to judge by Abt's success, it could become big business.

Two years ago Clark Abt, 37, quit his job as manager of Raytheon's Advanced Systems Department and went into business for himself. At Raytheon, Abt had tried his hand at applying technology to arms control research, but the government wasn't much interested and all in all the work was disheartening. Abt was intrigued with the possibilities of using technology in dealing with such problems as transportation and education, and since there was no opportunity for him to do this at Raytheon he took a gamble and started a research and consulting firm. To begin with he had two employees, and one small contract to help Educational Services, Inc. devise educational games for children. He soon got another small contract from the Pentagon which wanted Abt to do research in counterinsurgency.

These were meager enough beginnings. By the end of 1966, however, Abt Associates had gross sales of $560,000 and expect this year to reach $1 million. The staff grew from three people to 30, and Abt moved the office from a tiny clutch of rooms atop a machine shop on a back alley to a large new building. His business has shifted from the military to planning and the design of educational curricula for civilian government agencies and private industry. Most of this involves using techniques of mathematical modeling, computer simulation or human-player gaming.

Abt, who is both an engineer and political scientist with degrees from MIT and Johns Hopkins, does not care to be too closely linked with the fad in games. Nonetheless, the company uses games extensively, and its first major success came from designing several counterinsurgency games for the Pentagon's Advanced Research Projects Agency. The first of these was called Agile-Coin (Coin stands for counterinsurgency) and it sought to simulate some of the main aspects of the terror-phase of internal revolutionary conflict in a Southeast Asian setting.

Gaming gets pretty complicated, and the introduction to Agile-Coin helps explain what Abt set out to do: "If the problems of counterinsurgency could be described in terms of a small number of variables, like most physical processes, mathematical analysis could soon solve them. If the state of social science knowledge were comparable to that of physical sciences, in which most important variables and relationships can be defined quantitatively, direct mathematical analysis would possibly be more attractive than simulation.

"The situation now is that we must deal as best we can with a complex problem that has not been described in quantitative form. Simulation is one way of moving from the qualitative to quantitative, and from subjective impressions to objective analysis, theory building, experiment, theory correction, prediction and control. And that is the final objective of our applied research – control of insurgencies."

In Agile-Coin, actors represent insurgents, government forces and villagers. The insurgents and government forces are meant to knock each other off, at the same time gaining the loyalty of as many villagers as possible. For their part, the villagers try to keep losses down, stop the conflict as soon as possible and end on the winning side. In playing the game the actors can be spread around in different rooms, or, in an outside version, they use tents. In approaching a village in the game, the insurgent player is accompanied by Control; by flashing cards back and forth at the village player, the insurgent either is ambushed or admitted to the village. Once in the village, the insurgent can make deals, arrange an ambush, impress villagers into his service, or if he likes, assassinate the government's representative. All of this is accomplished by flashing cards and recording movements with Control.

Although Agile-Coin was constructed as a research tool to find out more about terror, the military were excited by its educational possibilities, and used the game in teaching officers about counterinsurgency at the special forces school at Fort Benning, Georgia.

Abt made two other games about counterinsurgency. One was called Politica or Counter-Conspiracy. It is a simulation of internal national conflict in a Latin American setting. The players find out what can happen in a "pre-revolutionary" conflict – whether it results in democratic change, revolution or reaction. The third game, and perhaps the most popular of all, is Urb-Coin. It resembles Agile-Coin, but in an urban setting. Now, the government and the insurgents, often disguised as members of the population, wrestle back and forth for control of the city. The actors representing the people get white "chips," those from the government and insurgents have blue and red chips. The chips are worn around the player's neck in a "chiplace," (an Abt word). In addition, the belligerents get weap-

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ons chips and bomb cards they can show if they want to blow up something. Cheating is to be expected, but this can be embarrassing. Once, a Pentagon officer who had been invited to play Urb-Coin got so carried away with his role as a secret agent, that he hid his weapons chips in his shoes. He was disgraced when an Abt employee pinned the officer against the wall and pulled off his shoes. Urb-Coin is used in training military police at Fort Gordon, Georgia. A version of the game, called Raid, proved to be useful in catching the attention of youngsters in the Boston slums. Raid is about a protection racket in the slums. The youngsters choose sides, some playing members of the protection gang; others are cops who fight the gang; and the rest are slum dwellers whose main object is to avoid paying money to the gang and stay alive.

Abt is matter of fact about the games. In part he sees them as tools for social science research. On the other hand, games have had some success in schools, involving youngsters in learning and getting them to see different sides of a problem. From the standpoint of Abt's business, games serve as both a promotional device and an interesting way of putting across research. For example, instead of presenting a bank with a thick report telling it what to do about a training program, Abt gives the management a game which he helps them play. This way they learn to see some of the assets and liabilities of various kinds of training programs. They can pick and choose as they wish from a "menu" of strategies provided by Abt.

Abt has collected a diverse staff of people around him. Most are in their twenties. "The cost effectiveness of people in their middle twenties is unbeatable," Abt says. The staff has capabilities in mathematics, physics, systems engineering, computer programming, industrial management, economics, political science, sociology, anthropology, psychology, linguistics, history and fine arts.

The employees sell as well as manage. Part of the idea in running the company is to hire unusual people other firms wouldn't take and turn them into efficient managers. Average salaries are $12,000 and profit is made very much a part of the "reward system." "The more you produce the more you get" was the way it was described to me. Abt holds out the possibility of a salary increase every six months and gives year-end bonuses. The company's stock is held by the employees.

In pricing the work, Abt figures out the total man-months involved in a project, adds on cost and a fee of from 10 to 15 percent. In managing the research projects, he uses a computer to determine how many hours should be spent by each employee on the various projects each week.

The company now is engaged in a wide range of jobs, very few of them for the military. Last year Abt Associates designed an education system cost effectiveness model for the Office of Education. Now it is helping the National Science Foundation develop a way to measure the production of knowledge. The Foreign Policy Association has hired the company to make a game that shows the different foreign policy strategies that were available in dealing with the Korean war. Abt hopes professional actors will play this game on educational television; other games are to be serialized in trade magazines. The company is helping the First National City Bank with a curriculum for a new college the bank wants to open. It is designing curricula for Creative Playthings, CBS's educational subsidiary. And, for the first time, the company will make games purely for entertainment – games, Abt says, "a middle-class intellectual would like his kids to play."

A Game for Transportation

Abt does its selling in an offhand sort of way. Last year it demonstrated Agile-Coin, the popular counterinsurgency game, for 35 employees in the government, and this eventually led to a $50,000 contract from the new Transportation Department for a game to help explain some of the complicated economic and political interests that influence development of a new transportation policy for the Northeast corridor (Boston to Washington, D.C.).

The Abt people still are taking the kinks out of this game, but as Richard H. Rosen, the senior operations analyst at Abt described it to me, the game works something like this: Eighty different actors, representing different economic and political interests play for two days at simulating the economy and politics of the Northeast corridor. The objective of each actor is to come up with a plan that will benefit his interests. Nine rooms are required for play, three of them for negotiating.

Control has representatives in each room and they try to keep the game moving along. Thirty economic actors represent various business interests, such as the New York textile industry, the Providence jewelers, Connecticut and Massachusetts tool makers, etc. The communications industry actor is made to resemble the late Henry Luce. The economic actors lead off in the game, as they might in the "real world," by placing orders for raw materials and specifying how the goods are to be shipped. As the economic actors go through the motions of buying, manufacturing and shipping goods in the Northeast corridor, the data are run through a computer, and begin to show the transportation system bogging down. Each round of the game lasts about 40 minutes but with the help of the computer, the 40 minutes simulate a year's time (the game

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represents what happens between 1960 and 1980).

The economic actors become more and more frustrated as the computer shows them losing increasing amounts of money due to late or lost shipments. The businessmen actors look around for politicians to fix things up. Now the political actors, who have been sitting on the sidelines, begin to play. They represent all sorts of elected officials – senators, congressmen, mayors, heads of state legislatures – as well as representatives from political pressure groups, trade associations, conservation societies, state and local planning agencies. There is even a team of actors representing federal bureaucrats who squabble over who gets to do what.

Everyone is equipped with a scenario of his role, telling him how he would be acting in the "real world"; otherwise, the play is free, and as Rosen says, "the actors can negotiate, lie, steal, cheat, anything so long as it's in concert with their objective, which is to make a transportation plan that satisfies their own needs."

Senators Will Simulate Themselves

After five or six rounds of wheeling-dealing, the federal government calls a conference and presents a plan, which in the test plays was hooted down. More conferences follow, with state and local governments and other interested parties presenting different plans. The haggling drags on; under the game rules, a new plan must be agreed upon by the end of the first day of play. Rosen points out that in the "real world," one way to get political agreement is to wear down the participants. Thus, in the transportation game, the actors have to continue playing into the wee hours of the morning until they agree on a plan. This, says Rosen, "is a real simulation of reality." During the second day of the game, a computer is used to break down the general plan into details, and then it simulates the new system. The players watch to see how well it works.

The transportation game can be broken down to deal with regional problems. In one test play involving the states of Connecticut and Rhode Island, actors hammered out an interstate transportation plan. Basically the problem was how to get workers in Providence to jobs in Hartford. The participants agreed to build a high-speed rapid transit system from Hartford to Providence as well as a fast highway between the two cities. These measures would facilitate transportation of both people and goods. In addition, it was agreed that Connecticut should enlarge the Hartford airfield into an international airport, and a high-speed subway should be run from the center of town out to the airport. (The subway could interconnect with rapid transit systems coming up from New York and down from Boston.) To pay for much of this, Connecticut decided to float a bond issue. This was feasible, because the actors representing United Aircraft, based in Hartford, agreed to buy the bonds which offered a good yield. In addition, United, which makes aircraft engines as well as the high-speed railway equipment, stood to profit from the increased business. Rhode Island got some federal money to develop the Providence harbor, and more important, Connecticut promised not to develop the harbors of New London and New Haven, which might have competed with Providence. Thus Connecticut traded Rhode Island the rights to build a major seaport in exchange for a big air center.

Abt plans to run the final play of this game within the next couple of months, and the company hopes to heighten the reality by getting senators and congressmen and industrialists to represent themselves.

In the future, Abt would very much like to have the company open a new kind of school which he calls the "Free School." The children could start attending when they were three or four and would be free to pursue at their own pace subjects that attracted them. Abt is interested in getting children to teach one another and they would have a chance to do so at his school. Some of Abt's educational ideas may be put into practice in a somewhat different setting fairly soon. The company is discussing with the Office of Economic Opportunity the possibility of running a Job Corps camp in a large city. As Abt conceives this project, the corpsmen would remain in the community, living in refurbished tenements or houses. The youngsters would do much of the teaching in the camp, and would control its operation.

In using technology to solve social problems, Abt Associates, and companies like it, raise some unanswered questions. One is that this kind of enterprise can very well result in removing decision-making even further from the people, by taking it out of the hands of government bureaucrats and placing it in the hands of a new kind of intellectual elite able to raise and solve political and economic issues. Abt tries to keep clear of this situation by insisting that his clients ask the questions they want answered; Abt won't ask the questions for them. But what happens when a client has a dubious political aim it wants put across? For example, the purpose of the Agile-Coin research was to provide the client, the Pentagon, with knowledge to control "insurgencies" in foreign countries. Abt says the company is "apolitical," but, this is hardly so; its politics seem to be defined by the interests of its clients, whether they are in the government or big business. Will technology result in making people's lives more free, or is it to serve a small group of managers in their manipulation of society? It will be interesting to see how this group of intellectual businessmen deal with this question.

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CHOU EN-LAI

The Indispensable Man of Compromise

by Kai-yu Hsu

We have been watching in Communist China a steady parade down the road of humiliation and disgrace. First went the pride and property of well-to-do citizens in many cities; then petty local functionaries were marched down main streets with dunce caps on their bowed heads; then Communist Party stalwarts confessed crimes of political deviation – revision of Maoism – in high courts of self-criticism: Peking Mayor Peng Chen, Propaganda Chief Lu Ting-yi and his successor Tao Chu, First Secretaries of the Southwest, Northwest, and North Bureaus (three major subdivisions of the Chinese Communist Party). Finally President Liu Shao-ch'i, considered Mao's most likely successor from 1945 until the Red Guards began to harass him last October, and Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) Teng Hsiao-ping, had to submit their self-criticism reports. Even the grand old soldier, Chu Teh, affectionately called Mother of the Red Army, has not escaped lambasting.

Directing the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution are Mao's speech writer, a prolific pamphleteer, and Mao's wife, both without substantive influence or power. The only power that stands behind Mao is Defense Minister Lin Piao and his Red Army. And the only person who can outrank Mao in party seniority and service record, yet is spared in the current turmoil, is Premier Chou En-lai – the perpetual compromiser, tireless persuader, many-time party-saver.

Mao may have been correct in turning on the Cultural Revolution to forestall a tendency of softening revolutionary spirit, and in doing so he may have served an ulterior purpose of exposing those whose views differ from his on how to build a socialist China from now on. But just as he has never been able to run the party or the country as an absolute one-man dictator, he realizes that his current favorite heir-apparent, Defense Minister Lin Piao, alone will not be able to hold China together. China stands on the strength of three forces – the youth and intelligentsia, the army, and the party apparatus. Today, only Chou En-lai still has enough influence over and can work with all three forces on the national scale.

On a warm spring afternoon in Chungking, in 1941, there was something about Chou that communicated directly with his audience of college students and reporters. He had just finished analyzing the destruction of the communist New Fourth Army by the nationalists. "My fellow schoolmates," he said, with a restrained tremor in his voice, "this is *our* country. Whatever has happened to cause that fratricidal tragedy must be forgotten. From now on, we must look ahead. . . . As for me (here he paused and bent his handsome head as though in pain), the grave of my mother to whom I owe everything I am and hope to be, is in Japanese-occupied Chekiang. The poplars must have grown quite tall there now. And how I wish I could just go back there once to clear the weeds on her grave – the least a prodigal son who has given his life to revolution and to his country could do for his mother. . . ." There was audible sniffling in the crowd.

He could have been referring to the grave of his own short-lived mother, a sensitive and cultured woman from whom he may have inherited the kind of classical Chinese finesse that includes a knack for literature and art. Or he could be referring to the grave of his rich aunt, the most affluent among the seven branches of the Chou clan (Chou's own father was the least successful), who adopted him and raised him as the first son of her family. His foster mother, herself an adopted child, was a woman of strong will, illiterate, wily, but intelligent, who ran her household in Shanghai with an iron hand.

The need to appease her and shelter the younger generation and servants, and the need to survive in that complicated Chou clan of seven branches with all its tensions may have helped teach Chou En-lai the art of dealing with people.

Grade school in Mukden, far away from the old-fashioned family, stimulated young Chou's awareness of a wider world. In Tientsin, he attended the first high school that experimented with liberal education in China. He was almost femininely handsome,

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enough to be cast in a female role in a school play and teased by his rougher Manchurian classmates. His speech was cultivated later than his pen, which excelled in facility and grace of expression.

There followed a year and a half in Japan where he continued to circulate among the restless Chinese students, reading the provocative articles by the socialist professor Hajimi Kawakami, but never formally enrolled in any college. Then when a former high school friend in Tientsin wrote him, "Our country is about to cease to be a country; what are you doing with your books there?" he came back to North China to plunge into the mad rounds of student demonstrations in 1919. He took over the college paper, wrote inflammatory articles urging student action to protest the government's appeasement of Japan, marched at the head of the column on the police headquarters and got himself arrested.

He, not Mao Tse-tung, or Liu Shao-ch'i, or Teng Hsiao-ping, was the hero of that generation of students out of whom grew the few professional revolutionaries. And the Red Guards in mainland China today prove that the Chinese revolution has not yet outgrown the stage during which students provide the fire and dynamism.

In addition to expressing his fellow students' emotional patriotism, Chou provided them with some intellectual leadership. It seems trivial, but giving arithmetic lessons to fellow prisoners in 1919 was symbolic of his academic superiority. Later when he came to theorizing on communism, he perhaps lagged behind the classical poetry-writing Mao, or the intense demagogic style of Liu Shao-ch'i. But what Chou said made sense to the professional revolutionaries, to the unionists, to the Red soldiers, and above all, to the students and college professors.

Work with the Red Army

Back from France in 1925, he got a job from Chiang Kai-shek to help run the political department in the Whampoa Military Academy (China's West Point) in Canton. The department head, a senior Kuomintang man, soon let the 26-year-old Chou take over. Chou signed up as his deputy a bright young man named Nieh Jung-chen, whom he had recruited for the Chinese Communist Party while in France and who is now a vice premier in Peking. Together they indoctrinated Chiang Kai-shek's handpicked cadets and built up a nucleus of followers among whom was Lin Piao, the defense minister supporting Mao in the Great Cultural Revolution today.

Chiang Kai-shek himself appreciated the need for political indoctrination of his soldiers, something he had observed in Russia and wanted to copy for building up his nationalist revolutionary army to fight the warlords. But soon his officers began to complain of interference by the political commissars, most of whom held dual membership in the CCP and the Kuomintang. On March 19, 1926 one of Chiang's gunboats sailed to the Whampoa Academy and the captain telephoned Chiang to request instruction. Having given no order to the vessel to move close to his quarters, the surprised Chiang thought that an earlier rumor about a communist plot to kidnap him was confirmed. He moved swiftly, dismissing all Russian advisers and known communists from his army. Two Russian advisers accompanied Chou En-lai to call on Chiang to protest the action. Chiang did not back down, but was mollified enough to let Chou work out an uneasy truce between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang. It lasted until the bloodbath of 1927 drove Chou and his comrades underground.

As political tutor to some of the most able soldiers Chiang trained (and who later fought under the Red flag), Chou has been able to maintain a substantial following in the Red Army. It was he who directed the first series of communist armed insurrections in Shanghai and Nanchang in 1927, and the date, August 1, has been observed as the Red Army Day ever since. On that day, without a single soldier under his direct command, Chou gave the signal and Generals Ho Lung and Yeh Ting promptly exchanged their Kuomintang banners for the Red flag, Nanchang fell into communist hands.

In 1931-34, Chou ran the Red Army college in the mountain fastness of the Kiangsi Soviet, lecturing and writing on guerrilla tactics to veterans of years of combat experience. On the eve of the historic Long March in 1934, he mobilized within 12 months 112,000 Youth Guards, using his student demonstration technique of 1919, to swell the ranks of the Red Army to make that 6,000-mile retreat possible. During the Long March, he shared with Mao the final responsibility of charting the map of survival for his steadily dwindling comrades. He alone was responsible for their continued political indoctrination to keep up morale against hunger, disease, local resistance and harassment, running for life over seemingly impassable terrain with Kuomintang troops in hot pursuit.

He is no combat hero, and there are many brilliant Red generals whose war records outshine his. Nor is he infallible in overall military strategy, about which he and the CCP's Central Committee were proved wrong and Mao right just before the Long March. And yet that peculiar agility of mind which combines political perception with military acumen never failed to impress even the most seasoned professional soldier, eastern or western. Lord Montgomery, among many others, was so impressed by Chou that he wanted to

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have him as a long-term house guest.

In manipulating the party apparatus Chou, the organization man, also has an impressive record. He was not at the founding meeting of the CCP in 1921 in Shanghai; he was busy recruiting in Europe. But he did more for the communist movement in China than the founding fathers managed. Of 13 delegates present at the inaugural meeting, one walked out before the end, two were ousted soon afterwards, and most of the rest either defected or sank into oblivion. Only Tung Pi-wu (who represented the CCP at the founding of the United Nations in San Francisco) and Mao stayed in the party. In contrast, the nucleus cultivated by Chou in Paris and Berlin contributed many extremely able party leaders who either died for the communist cause during the darkest days in the CCP's history, such as Chao Shih-yen, and Tsai Ho-sen, or survived to see the communist struggle through to victory, such as Nieh Jung-chen (vice premier, meritorious general, one-time Chou assistant at Whampoa), Chen Yi (foreign minister, vice premier, another brilliant general), Teng Hsiao-ping (nicknamed PhD in mimeographing because he was in charge of operating such a machine for Chou in Paris, now head of the CCP), Li Fu-ch'un (vice premier), Tsai Ch'ang (wife of Li Fu-ch'un, perhaps the brightest veteran woman comrade still living in China), and a host of others.

Shifts in the Party Line

With this much behind him Chou should have been able to surround himself with a clique ready to push him to the top of the party hierarchy. But this was not the case. Chou's real stature in the CCP grew not by knocking others down, nor by staying away from controversy, but rather by taking the orthodox party line and sticking to it until the tide was really turning. Then he plunged into the deadlocked controversy to cast his deciding vote.

However complex the CCP intra-party conflicts may have been, a few main lines can be traced. These are: hard revolution versus soft revolution, mobilizing industrial workers first versus cultivating the peasantry first, scattered mobile guerrilla attacks to whittle away the enemy versus building up a substantial Red Army for frontal attack, developing soviet bases in remote areas and gradually consolidating them versus starting armed revolts in major metropolises to seize national power overnight, national revolution versus world revolution, and more dictatorship versus less.

Small wonder that there have been many oscillations in the party line. Each shift has involved personal greed for power and honest revision of one's view on the changing realistic situation. The latter seems to have been the case each time Chou En-lai adjusted his position on the party line.

In 1925-27, the scholarly Marxist Ch'en Tu-hsiu, founder of Chinese communism, headed the CCP's Central Committee in Shanghai. He favored a softer line; other communist leaders in Canton favored a tougher line. After the CCP had lost too many of its leaders and comrades and even he himself had several brushes with death, Chou went to Moscow in 1928 to seek advice from the Comintern. Stalin called the Shanghai faction rightist-opportunist, but scolded the Canton faction for its "playing with uprisings." He told Chou to go home to build a strong Red Army and carry out land reform in the countryside, but to avoid too much scattered guerrilla activity as that would deplete the party before its time had come.

The Comintern had spoken, and Chou En-lai together with two other top CCP leaders returned to China to carry out orders. But how? Li Li-san, another member of the nucleus Chou En-lai had cultivated in France, was now heading the party and he had to make decisions. Li pressed for more and more uprisings in eastern and central China, and Chou went along, partly because he was outvoted and partly because he shared Li's view that a revolutionary high tide was about to sweep the entire world. When one comrade sent to start an uprising in a village reported that there were only seven communists in that area, Li's assistant replied, "Get each of them to set fire to a house, there would be seven houses on fire!" Chou raised no objection.

But more and more comrades died or defected or started quarreling, and the situation deteriorated rapidly. In 1930 Chou En-lai again went to Moscow. This time the Comintern called Li Li-san a putschist, blaming him for blindly pushing insurrections without adequate preparation. Chou returned from Moscow to witness the demise of the putschist policy and to find the Central Committee packed with the Moscow-trained Bolsheviks headed by Ch'en Shao-yu. To what Stalin had told Chou En-lai two years before, the Comintern now added two more points of advice: consolidate the communist-controlled bases and organize them into soviets; declare an anti-imperialist policy in anticipation of a war with Japan.

The first task for Chou was to reunite the badly fragmented party under the new Central Committee operating out of Shanghai. This he succeeded in doing after much behind-the-scene maneuvering. His next task was to organize the scattered communist bases of doubtful strength into a centralized soviet.

But after 1930 it became extremely difficult for the CCP to function in the Kuomintang-controlled Shanghai. Among the few communist bases, the Kiangsi Soviet under Mao Tse-tung was better established and usable. However, Mao refused to cooperate with

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the Central Committee and the disagreement reached a showdown stage when Mao's troops wiped out a unit of soldiers from another soviet base loyal to the Central Committee in Shanghai. As chief of the Central Committee's military affairs department, Chou reported on the incident and reprimanded Mao. By the end of 1933, Mao had to back down. He even temporarily withdrew from the policy-making oligarchy and waited and fretted in the mountain hideout of Yu-tu until the eve of the Long March. Then the deteriorating situation vindicated Mao's hit-and-run guerrilla approach, and the whole Kiangsi Soviet decamped and ran for 6,000 miles.

Comintern or no Comintern, Mao had proved that under the circumstances in China at that time his way was the only way of communist survival. Chou took the Central Committee to Mao, and from 1935 on it has remained under Mao's dominance.

Herein lay Chou's strength: when he teamed up with another leader, he was still not his man, and he is not Mao's man now. When he supports party orthodoxy, he does it without slavishly parroting the tedious perorations. When he switches his line, the switch is gracefully executed without rage or rancor. The only time he came close to an abject admission of error, which kind fills the CCP archives, was in January 1931 when he renounced his defense of the Li Li-san line, and this he did only with a prefatory note. To the Chinese mind the important thing is not whether one remains true to an abstract label, but rather whether one's action brings about the desired result. Every Chinese prime minister during the past two thousand years called himself a Confucian scholar while promulgating laws based on economic determinism and writing poetry which reflected Buddhist and Taoist ideas. They all got away with it and died Confucian scholars. There is no reason why Chou cannot end his political life as a Maoist in name, but a revisionist in fact.

A Gracious Yielder

Translated into the hard language of party politics, this strength of Chou En-lai means that his popularity is not a subject of jealousy. When Liu Shao-ch'i revised the party bylaws and emerged as Mao's heir with his popular pamphlets on communism in 1945, Chou graciously yielded the No. 2 position to him. When Teng Hsiao-ping rose as the CCP's secretary-general in the 1950's, Chou again graciously yielded to him the No. 3 position. And on March 22, this year, in a speech to workers in Peking, Chou is reported to have coined a new title for Defense Minister Lin Piao – "Deputy Leader." Something of the traditional Chinese philosophy of yielding, of recognizing ebb and flow as an organic part of any life, is reflected in this man. The important thing is that after his yielding, his comrades know that he is still indispensable.

The Chinese Communist Party is a mammoth unwieldy conglomeration of some 50 million persons, about the population of France. That it cannot operate with push-button efficiency – and there is reason to doubt if it ever will be able to do so – is evidenced in the fact that Mao himself cannot issue an order through the party chain of command to weed out any revisionism or capitalist-rightist tendency. Instead he has to turn to youth groups outside the hard core of the CCP, to get them to deal with the hard core. Any party leader coming after Mao will continue to need these youth groups, and there is none more experienced in handling them than Chou En-lai.

Those with battle scars to mark their loyalty to the CCP, are a small minority, not enough to fill all the key positions. Today the gaps are still filled with many who experienced a different social order before, or whose allegiance to communism is peripheral. Only Chou can keep them together. After 1945 he sat with the Kuomintang at a negotiation table to buy time for a communist buildup, while winning with his words the sympathy and support of all the non-Kuomintang groups. In 1949 he organized the delegates of all these non-Kuomintang groups into a People's Political Consultative Conference (PPCC) to set up the Peking regime. In principle, the PPCC as a scaffolding should have been abolished the moment the National People's Congress was convened in 1954. But it was not. On the contrary, with its National Committee expanded to 1,200 members in 1964, it had grown enough to rival the People's Congress itself. And Chou is in charge of the PPCC. Through its pyramidal chain of control all the way down to the county level, Chou has been able to keep the half-converted and unconverted Chinese in line to serve the cause of national unity.

A word needs to be said about the secret police. It is true that the CCP learned a few tricks from the Russian Cheka (later NKVD and MVD), which it used mainly in Shanghai, center of communist clandestine activities during 1927-32. In those days cold-blooded political assassination and counterassassination were regular fare. Ku Shun-chang, known for his savage technique of strangling his victim with a single hand without giving him a chance to struggle, was Chou's right-hand man in the terrorist Red Guard network (*ch'ih-wei-tui*, not to be confused with *hung-wei-ping* of today). When Ku was trapped by the Kuomintang counterespionage, he squealed, which resulted in the arrest and execution of over 40 members of the CCP's elite and about 800 lower-echelon communists throughout the country. After a narrow escape, Chou ordered the murder of Ku's entire family. In the Kiangsi Soviet period of 1931-34, more than

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once Chou personally conducted a high politico-military tribunal to chastise some high-ranking comrades who showed signs of wavering.

Since the establishment of the Peking regime in 1949, there has been no evidence of any organized resistance to communism on the mainland; the highly efficient flying squads of terrorists that protected the CCP in the 1920's are no longer needed. What's happening in Peking, Shanghai, Nanking, and other large cities in China today is reminiscent of the Red Ransom kangaroo trials of 1950-51, the Three-Anti and Five-Anti Drives of 1951-56, the counter-Hundred Flower Campaign of 1957. In each case there was more howling, spitting, beating, and parading than killing, and in each case it started with a relatively slow process of mass agitation, and closed with an equally slow, grinding halt. It is nothing a tightly knit secret police network can either manufacture or control.

Pulling the Pieces Together

Everyone shouting slogans in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution seems to have a very short memory, otherwise Chou En-lai would have been in hot water. In 1950 when the new regime sought to involve the students and intellectuals in socialist reconstruction of the country, Chou triggered off a socialist cultural revolution with his famous speech "On Reforming the Intellectuals" delivered at the workshops of Peking and Tientsin university faculties. The ensuing thought-reform movement raged for six long years until Chou believed that the party and the regime were sufficiently secure in the saddle to involve the intellectuals in a new task. His three major reports on the intelligentsia presented to the regime's three highest policy-making bodies in January 1956 set the stage for the Hundred Flower Movement to unfold three months later to let people talk and criticize authority. By August 1957 the Hundred Flowers (a hundred different schools of thought) seemed to have bloomed a little too promiscuously. Pruning followed. Two years later Chou again felt the need for some relaxation, through a campaign to "Remove the Rightist Cap," or to halt the abuse of using the rightist label to condemn just anyone. Between 1959 and 1964, there were four such campaigns coupled with four drives to "Declare Amnesties for War Criminals," all aimed at producing a more relaxed atmosphere.

On January 3, 1967, Chou intervened and settled a dispute between Peking's garrison commander and the chief political commissar of the Red Army. On January 30, after two weeks of rioting at a suburban police headquarters outside Peking, Chou again had to intervene to pacify the mobs. With Lin Piao calling his troops back to their barracks and Mao calling the peasants back to their spring tilling, soon Chou will have to tell the students that they have shouted enough and paraded enough, and that it's time to get back to school. The socialist reconstruction of a country as large as China cannot be accomplished with slogan-shouting and parades. Now that the so-called anti-Maoist elements (not necessarily anti-Mao Tse-tung the person, and there is an important difference) have been exposed and disgraced to varying degrees, what next? Surely these hundreds and thousands of anti-Maoists cannot all be killed off; surely speech-writer Ch'en Po-ta, ex-actress Mrs. Mao, even with the help of Defense Minister Lin Piao, cannot run the huge country by themselves. Chou En-lai, once more, will have to pull the pieces together.

The Great Leap Forward has not brought Red China's steel production above Britain's as had been promised, and it has not brought the country any closer to Mao's dreamland of peace and plenty. Peking has been rapidly losing friends among the Afro-Asian and the neutralist blocs of nations, all because of the hardening Maoist line. There is always the concern that the great masses of lukewarm communists and non-communists, with their mixed concepts and values, are open to retrogression to the old order of Chinese society with all its pre-revolution evils. But the generation born after 1949 and bred in a more puritanical ideological atmosphere is rapidly replacing the elders. When this replacement is near completion, Chou and his comrades will feel that the fruit of their revolution is ripe enough to permit a more mellow party line. The issue then will not be Maoism or anti-Maoism, for Mao has not pronounced any truth more profound than Marxism-Leninism. Like Lenin he has held out before the Chinese a utopian, classless society without party or police or army because it is without strife, which is an ancient dream shared by many peoples in the world in many different eras. Maoism is but a formula of applying Leninism to Chinese society, and the steps of application will always depend upon when the revolutionary high tide is judged ripe for what. But who is going to interpret Maoism and apply it to China after Mao is gone? He is 73 now.

The Red Guards, of whom 90 percent are young students, adore Mao because they take him to be China's prophet of progress which ultimately promises material solvency, not perpetual asceticism. China's farmers, some 80 percent of a 700-million population, worship Mao because, they are told, he has brought them fatter water buffaloes (and some tractors) and bigger bumper crops and less tax. What if following Maoism to the last letter does not deliver these promises in another five years? Well, revise it.

This, deep down in their hearts, is known to the shrewd comrades in Peking, and to Chou En-lai.

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STANLEY KAUFFMANN *Thornton Wilder*

Thornton Wilder's career is one of the oddest in American letters. After the publication of his first two novels in the twenties, he was accepted by the most demanding critics as a serious figure. In the same breath Edmund Wilson spoke of "Hemingway, Wilder, Fitzgerald" or, a dozen years later, of "Hemingway, Dos Passos, Faulkner, Wilder." The incongruity of those groupings today is almost comment enough. In 1960 Wilder's play, *Our Town*, was drubbed by Dwight Macdonald as *Kitsch;* but in 1930 Wilder was castigated (in this journal) by Michael Gold for dwelling in the loftier reaches of high art while the masses were starving. It would all be simple if Wilder's career were plainly a toboggan-slide – of commercialization or continuous deterioration; but neither is true. His worst detractors would not accuse him of being a money-grubber; and the line of his achievement does not go relentlessly down. His first novel, *The Cabala* (1926), was one of his two best; the other, *The Ides of March*, was published in 1948. (Incidentally, both books deal with Rome – contemporary and ancient.) Between these two came the too-clever *Bridge of San Luis Rey*, the effete *Woman of Andros*, and the moderately successful *Heaven's My Destination*. Among his plays there are no comparable peaks, but even the severe Macdonald readily grants that *Our Town* (1938) and *The Skin of Our Teeth* (1942), though not profound, are often extremely affecting. Wilder's career is now further complicated by his new long novel * – his first since *The Ides of March* – which is shockingly and unredeemedly bad.

There is no question here of whether Wilder has sustained claims to serious consideration; seriousness does not even enter into it. Although the Wilder views are recognizable, this new book almost seems to have been written by another man, an imitator inferior to the feeblest Wilder we have previously seen. The writing – by a man distinguished in his youth for style – is without grace, though he strains for it constantly; the characters are stagy, hollow, unrealized, though they are laden with characteristics; the plot, full of arthritic twists, is attenuated and undramatic although the author himself seems generally breathless with excitement; the theme, as apprehended here, is sophomoric, although Wilder has dealt with it before with at least some immediate effect. What the book conveys basically is the wrong kind of urgency: that Wilder was conscious of the nearly twenty years since his last novel and that he wanted to publish at least one more. (I must add – without irrelevance – that Wilder's reputation as a man and as a helper of young writers makes these judgments especially unhappy.)

The Eighth Day gets its title from a turn-of-the-century sermon by a small-town American preacher who says that the world was created in six days, that the Lord then rested, and that "we are at the beginning of the second week. We are children of the eighth day." The book's shape is a mirror-image of *The Bridge of San Luis Rey*. In both novels the central fact is a physical catastrophe. The earlier book unravels the design that led certain lives to the catastrophe; the new book unravels the design caused by the catastrophe. Each book opens with a statement of the central fact:

> "On Friday noon, July the twentieth, 1714, the finest bridge in all Peru broke and precipitated five travelers into the gulf below."

> "In the early summer of 1902 John Barrington Ashley of Coaltown, a small mining center in southern Illinois, was tried for the murder of Breckenridge Lansing, also of Coaltown."

This latter is a fairly promising beginning. The year, the fact, the flavor – and a latent hope for the author, based partly on his feeling for Americana – stimulate at least expectation of ingenuity, of superior entertainment. Not justified. Very early in the book the convicted man is mysteriously rescued from the train that is taking him to execution and there are hints that, despite some ostensible facts, he is innocent. Over 400 pages later the mysteries are cleared up, without even much gratification on that simple score, both because our interest is fatigued and the clarifications are pat. Further, Wilder commits the technical error of "appearing" in the book as narrator from time to time – occasionally even in the first person. ("His Scots speech, which I have omitted to reproduce. . . .") The effect of this is only irritating; we feel that, if the author, who knows the secrets, is "present," he ought to quit being coy, tell us the answers, and save our plodding through a couple of hundred pages more.

But no – his intent is to reveal design: to uncover inch by inch the blessings and destinies hidden in the initial catastrophe. And because this is the book's prime purpose, its prime shortcoming is that it fails in this purpose. The convict, John Ashley, flees to Chile and meets people he would never have known if it had not been for the murder, but in any significant way, he is unchanged. In fact, he makes his way through his new life because of the character he displayed *before* the murder. In further fact, he would not otherwise have been rescued from the train. What growth or change in his essential being was caused by the catastrophe?

His son becomes a successful journalist, one of his daughters a great singer, another daughter a famous political activist; superficially, the family's changed position brought about circumstances that instigated the children's careers, but there is nothing absolutely requisite in those circumstances to spur them to what they become. How many journalists, singers, and activists have needed a convict-father in order to get going?

All through the book Wilder suffers from the belief that extension equals

(Continued on page 45)

* *The Eighth Day* by Thornton Wilder (Harper & Row; $6.95)

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Greener Grass on the Other Side

by Ronald Steel

"The other side" is North Vietnam. This is an account of a journey in search of peace made by three Americans during the Christmas truce of 1965. Like Christmas visitors of another period, they are a disparate trio: Staughton Lynd, a youngish professor of history at Yale; Thomas Hayden, a founder of Students for a Democratic Society and a community organizer in Newark; and Herbert Aptheker, a faithful stalwart of the depleted, but not yet departed, American Communist Party. It was Aptheker who was invited by Hanoi, and was asked to bring two non-communist radicals with him. Lynd and Hayden were chosen, and *The Other Side* is the account these two have written of their trip.

The Other Side
by Staughton Lynd & Thomas Hayden
(New American Library; $5)

Why did they go? Because, in their words, "it seemed unendurable to stand by and do nothing." Or at least do nothing more than issuing manifestos and organizing peace demonstrations. Like many Americans involved in the civil rights and anti-poverty movements, they have been deeply opposed to the war and see it as a repudiation of the promises of the Great Society. By expanding the protest movement into foreign policy, they sought to establish the intimate connection between repression at home and "imperialism" abroad.

This effort was crucial to the authors, for it reflected their view of the power structure of "white America." Unless the connection could be established between Vietnam and the domestic protest movement, they explain:

> ". . . We feared that the civil rights and anti-poverty movements would be channeled into a quest for token domestic improvements with their leaders accepting American foreign policy as the price; thus tending to create an acquisitive, all-powerful America whose poor are not only narrow nationalists but wealthy in comparison with the world's people."

Beneath this dense syntax the authors seem to be expressing a fear that Great Society programs may actually alleviate the misery of the poor, and thus draw their attention away from US inequities throughout the world. However much this might help the poor on a material level, it would make them unwitting accomplices in America's policy of global imperialism. The poor, it seems, must be protected from their own selfish instincts. In explaining their suspicion of the Great Society, one cannot, however, be sure whether the authors find it more distasteful that America is "acquisitive and all-powerful" (should it be extravagant and weak?) or that the poor in America are "wealthy in comparison with the world's people" (should they be even more wretched?).

Adopting a Fanonist view of revolution, Messrs. Lynd and Hayden preach an international brotherhood of the proletariat. "We are," they declare,

> ". . . part of the same great family on earth as those Cubans, Ghanaians, and Vietnamese who are trying to make a way independent of the Great Powers, trying to assume the responsibility for decisions which have been expropriated by others, trying to take back the stolen natural resources, the factories, the farming land, the schools, and above all the labor which has been used by others for so long."

The power structure of "white America" has kept the Negroes and the poor in bondage, just as it keeps down the "underdeveloped" nations of the Third World. Thus foreign and domestic policy are intimately intertwined. This, they assure us, was evident in the Administration's twin decisions in 1964 to escalate the war in Vietnam and to refuse to seat the Mississippi Freedom Democrats at the convention. "Until then," we are told,

> ". . . Tom had hoped that a crisis of civil rights and poverty in America might compel a turning away from the Cold War. Looking back, that possibility seems to have collapsed with the decisions to bomb the North Vietnamese while barring the Freedom Democrats. From that point on, the war for freedom in Vietnam – while freedom is lacking at home – has become America's primary concern. It has served to strengthen America's reluctance to accept change and revolution anywhere in the world. Opposing the war thus became for Tom part of an opposition to racial and class prejudice in America itself."

This is an interesting train of logic, and one would like to be told just how Mr. Hayden arrived at it. Perhaps everything the government does – from issuing a commemorative stamp in honor of Louisa May Alcott to sending surplus wheat to Algeria – is part of some enormous conspiracy to keep "the wretched of the earth" in their place. If so, the authors owe it to their readers to show how the conspiracy works in practice. Maybe Lyndon Johnson did decide one sleepless night, that so long as he was going to bomb North Vietnam, he might as well turn thumbs down on the bid of the Mississippi civil rights group to usurp the regular racist delegation at the convention. But the authors do not find it necessary to explain. They see the world in stark black-and-white – the effort of white to overpower black. Much of what they say about the values and goals of "white America" has an uncomfortable ring of

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truth about it. But the stridency of their vocabulary and the sloppiness of their logic – not to mention the sentimentality of their judgments about "the other side" – tend to defeat the virtues of their own argument.

The Other Side is a pastiche of instant impressions and thumbnail sketches, padded with transcripts of interviews with various personalities encountered by the authors on their trip to Hanoi via Prague, Moscow and Peking. For the most part the interviews are as frank and informative as the diatribes printed in *Red Flag*, or the announcements that come over Radio Hanoi. Gentle professors, youthful officers in liberation armies, soft-spoken government officials, misty-eyed maidens, and dedicated technicians all make their appearance and say more or less the same thing: that the United States should get out of Vietnam and let the Vietnamese settle their score by themselves. In this judgment they are probably right – not, however, because they are the virtuous, idealistic practitioners of the "humane socialism" described by the authors, but because eventually every group of people settle their own scores, no matter how eager foreigners are to do it for them. It is not because we are white imperialists, as the authors suggest, that we are unable to solve the problems of the Vietnamese. Rather, it is because it is their war, as President Kennedy used to say, and cannot be won by anyone else for them.

In their sympathy for those on "the other side," Messrs. Lynd and Hayden tend to exempt them from most of the nasty failings of mortal men. In Hanoi, instead of the usual "stereotyped American attitudes toward Asians," we find a land of "humane socialism . . . evident in the unembarrassed handclasps among men, the poetry and song at the center of man-woman relationships, the freedom to weep." Instead of Washington's banalities, there are the brilliant insights of North Vietnam's prime minister who told the authors: "the great Truth of our time is that we must be brothers." Instead of the lies circulated by US officials, there is the "technically correct" contention of Pham Van Dong that "the so-called presence of [North Vietnamese] forces in South Vietnam is a sheer US fabrication in order to justify their war of aggression in South Vietnam." Instead of Washington's intransigence, there is Hanoi's reasonable position that "negotiation both about South Vietnam's government and American troop withdrawal was possible . . . only in the context of United States recognition that it had no right to be present in Vietnam in the first place." Rather than seeing war as a reciprocal exercise in dehumanization, regardless of which side one favors, they note that "the NLF practices selective terror on the ground; Americans – not because they are sadistic but because their government is counter-revolutionary – rain indiscriminate terror from the skies."

The real usefulness of this book does not lie in what it tells us about "the other side," for it tells us very little that is worth remembering – but what it tells us about "this side," and particularly about the authors. Apparently believers in historical determinism, they assure us that "whatever happens in Vietnam, indigenous revolutionary forces on one hand and the familiar American blindness on the other are preparing a similar drama on other Southeast Asian stages." Is this the domino theory of the radical left? Also, they seem to accept fully the Marxist view that "the American government is in Vietnam because it believes that the spread of socialism is impermissible regardless of how humane the particular socialism involved." In refusing to draw any distinction themselves between "humane socialism" and communism, they ignore the real reason that the United States is in Vietnam. Certainly we are mesmerized by the word "communism," and quite possibly we should not trouble ourselves about what kind of government the Vietnamese live under. The fact remains that American policy-makers are not opposed to the spread of "humane socialism," but to what they conceive to be a "communist conspiracy." Perhaps they are wrong, but Messrs. Lynd and Hayden do their argument no service by dodging the real issue. They further declare that "when non-communist leadership turns toward fundamental change, such as basic land reform or the nationalization of foreign investments, American pressure mounts to destroy it." It would, I suppose, be considered reactionary to point out that the United States has not only accepted land reform and nationalization in such countries as Bolivia, Indonesia and Algeria, but even aided the expropriating regimes with food and money.

In their disgust with American foreign policy, and in a deeper sense their alienation from the basic consensus of American society, radicals such as Lynd and Hayden see organized conspiracy and repression where more often the explanation is narrowness

Lady of The Freesias

Deep stars – blue yellow white and red
Streaked with tender glandular secret veinings
Each trembling on a bare green stem
They baffle against the winter windows
And daze the whole room with scent.

Upward to light only to fall dark
After a senseless bloom. It was your hand
And desire that woke them, spoke
Touched and felt them to that end
As to make life, with beauty, given luck.

Queen over tender blossoms as they burn,
You watch them fade and quench, all falling stars,
Sending them back to dark, since what they were
May, given luck, return
Granted such gift as yours.

LOUIS COXE

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and self-righteousness. Lyndon Johnson is not oblivious to the difference between communism in Czechoslovakia and communism in North Vietnam. He and his advisers may be wrong in their assessment of the importance of Vietnam in the world power balance, and they may have an exaggerated vision of the role America should play in building a global Great Society. They are, in a real sense, infused with an imperial concept of American power and responsibility, and they are wreaking terrible destruction upon a weak and unfortunate nation in the name of justice. The authors are justified in viewing this as a kind of imperialism, but they fall victim to the excesses of their own adopted vocabulary by seeing the war in Vietnam as part of the same conspiracy that keeps down Negroes at home. There is enough to criticize in American foreign policy without making it appear more rational than it really is.

We owe a great deal to the radicals of the left, and to such courageous men as Staughton Lynd and Tom Hayden for having forced us to come to terms with the shortcomings, indeed the staggering inadequacies and injustices, of our own society. But the left also owes something to itself if it is to be taken seriously: a refusal to engage in platitudes and imported clichés, the courage not to be self-indulgent, and the maturity to realize that the grass is not necessarily greener simply because it's on "the other side."

Bourgeois Spain

by Honor Tracy

To create a powerful middle class was always the dream of General Franco and, helped by growing prosperity, it is coming true. It is ironical that the very man who, to preserve traditional Spain, shed torrents of blood, who was prepared to that end to "shoot half the population if need be," has been the one to foster a social pattern so peculiarly un-Spanish. What he probably had in mind was a stable, contented, hardworking group to be, as elsewhere, the backbone of the country: what he conceivably overlooked was that in the falangist state a middle class could have no such function. Without liberty, no one is responsible: where opinion has no force, nobody bothers to have one. In Spain, moreover, loyalty to the family has always come first and the concept of public weal, civic conscience, duty to the state, barely existed. Now the family grip is relaxing but there are no signs of an emerging public spirit to take its place. The majority of the new class is bent on making money, acquiring possessions, while for the minority who think, feel, aspire, there is only frustration.

The Party's Over
by Juan Goytisolo
Translated by José Yglesias
(Grove Press; $3.95)

Señor Goytisolo offers the one short story and three *novelas* here as "four attempts to define a love affair," and they do deal with love and marriage – deal with them, too, in a refreshingly grown-up manner, assuming that readers are adult and require no painstaking descriptions or four-letter words. The brilliant little opening story describes a boy's attachment to a young man, both of the working class and both strangely involved with a Swedish married couple passing a stormy vacation in their seaside town. But, in the *novelas*, the theme propounded is not the essential one: that, rather, is the spiritual disaffection and disorientation of the people. All are fundamentally aimless, no worthwhile aim being allowed them. "You used to be interested in other people," a wife says bitterly to her husband, a lawyer: "Now anything that isn't connected with your work bores you." He replies that unused moral energy turns to neurasthenia.

The man's predicament is revealed in one short episode. He sees a stranger arrested, hurries up, offers his professional services, busies himself in the

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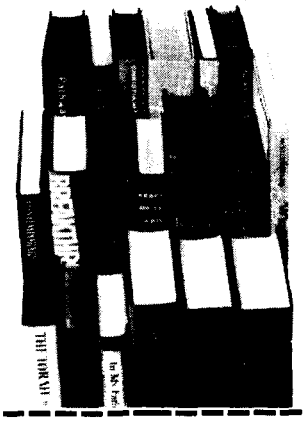

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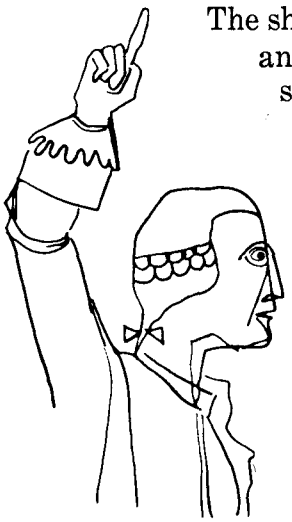

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matter, takes no end of trouble. The arrest is quite in order, the fellow is a known thief, but still the lawyer tries to help him. Four months ago his idol, an implacable enemy of the regime, was arrested too and a picture of him, handcuffed, appeared in the press. Now, seeing the manacled thief, he feels compelled to intervene as, in the other case, he was powerless to do. It is fruitless, absurd, but it is all that is left to him.

Miguel is another tragic figure, formerly a scholar of promise, whose first and only book was widely acclaimed. Now, withdrawn to a country house, he does little but loaf about and pull everyone and everything to pieces. "The idea of leaving his lair frightens him," his wife explains to an old friend who has come out to see what is wrong. "He's turned down more than four offers this last year to teach abroad. The Americans because they're Americans. The Catholics because they are Catholics. The Protestants because they are Protestants. He's always got some excuse to lie to himself and other people." It has a curiously Chekovian ring. Very delicately, for even the man of courage that Señor Goytisolo plainly is must be careful, we are told the cause of Miguel's well-nigh schizophrenic condition: his brother Armando, a scholar like himself, is in jail, no need to ask why. For all that the fact is barely mentioned, the sadness of it pervades the story, a proof of the writer's extraordinary skill: the atmosphere is tense, sombre, overcast, occasionally frenzied.

All the stories are set by or near the sea, of which the descriptions are beautiful, not merely of the sea itself but of all to do with it, fishermen, boats, nets, swimming, underwater exploring, baking on a hot sand: like Hemingway, the author conjures up a scene or conveys a physical sensation with magnificent economy. Unlike Hemingway, he turns a keen clear eye on the peasantry, no nonsense about it, the men bragging of their virility in the obsessive Spanish way and bullying the women, the women scolding the men and fighting each other, in all the squalor of rural life, the violence, envy, meanness, cruelty.

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flirting, quarreling, looking for bizarre amusements, smoking marijuana, drinking, take a rosier view: again we are reminded, comically, of 19th-century Russia. They, the peasants, have captured the truth of life, says one. Every gesture of theirs reveals the essence of the world, they're absolutely necessary, says another: we intellectuals operate in a vacuum. After more in similar vein, "the discussion degenerated into a controversy about the relative merits of the country and the city. Finally, we were all fed up." Everything ends in their all being fed up.

It is sad to finish on a carping note but work as fine as this deserved a better translation. This one reads awkwardly and lacks color, and is slipshod in the bargain. "Generalísimo," for example, turns up as "Generalissimo," an elementary mistake, and the French district of La Garonne is left in the Spanish "Garona": in Spain "mujer!" is used to a woman in the same friendly spirit as "hombre!" to a man, and the bald translation "woman!" implies contempt; and we have it on good American authority that the word "gotten" is wrong. I suspect that had the Spanish text been available for comparison much else would have come to light and I hope that Señor Goytisolo will be better served in future.

The McNamara Establishment

by Morris Renek

A publisher, in despair of a book he had praised moments before on the underworld's ties with business and politics, asked, "Who is going to care about this book? Everyone is out for their share too." What deeper despair would he have experienced, if he were bringing out an exposé of the Pentagon? For with its colossal budget, the Pentagon is a sophisticated Tammany Hall. It's power is not primarily in making war, but in making more expensive property available to a new educated class. To understand the Pentagon's grip on business, labor, science, education, one does best to remember Tawney's observation on The Acquisitive Society: "It is probable that war, which in barbarous ages used to be blamed as destructive of property, has recently created more titles to property than almost all other causes put together."

The Pentagon
by Clark R. Mollenhoff
(Putnam; $7.95)

The Pentagon's influence through the pocketbook is everywhere and is reflected back as compliance and support for its policies. It is also responsible for a new source of disconnection in American life. The professional class has been thrown out of focus. We no longer are sure what they are actually doing *to* us whereas before we assumed, let's say, that a man with a microscope might be helping our children lead a healthier life. How can you call a scientist in suburbia a new clerk of death? Yet his property may well represent his reward for such work. The labor of the professional class has become suspect.

Mollenhoff fears for our democratic lives because of the "total power potential accumulated" by Secretary of Defense McNamara. "Unless there are more effective challenges in the future, accompanied by courageous and persistent dissent, we may have passed the critical point and have already lost the battle against authoritarian government."

If Mollenhoff had gone one step farther, he would have had a book worth attention. No authoritarian figure is an island unto himself. He is supported and even formed by the interests who profit by his behavior. A valid exposé is a family portrait. A portrait of the Pentagon must include not only McNamara but the politicians, as the interesting ten volume hearings on TFX showed. Mollenhoff has the not unworthy idea that the TFX decision – for the largest military airplane contract in the nation's history – was awarded on an electoral vote

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basis; the states with the most electoral votes getting the meaty spread of the contract. This would account for the fact that the plane the military believed was the superior one (and also the least expensive) was turned down four different times and finally rejected on the fifth time. McNamara, right or wrong, has never fully recovered from this first chink in his technocratic armor.

But there is another side to McNamara, one for which the nation owes him a considerable debt. Mollenhoff leaves this out because he is earnestly writing for the military services to have their old autonomy back. McNamara's centralization is blamed for hampering new ideas, yet in the golden days of that autonomy the airplane was turned down.

During the Eisenhower years, Senator Paul Douglas was a lonely figure protesting the "scandalous" waste in the military and the fact that 89 percent of Pentagon contracts with industry were not achieved through competition on the open market but were "negotiated" at excessive prices. By April 11, 1966, Douglas – in a speech at Centralia, Illinois – was calling McNamara the best Secretary of Defense to hold office during the three terms he, Douglas, had been in office. Mollenhoff makes no mention of Douglas, nor is he particularly concerned that under McNamara competitive bids have increased, the surplus waste lowered.

Concentrating on the Secretary, Mollenhoff misses the ironies the military system can be put to on behalf of its citizens. The Eisenhower years saw a classical ploy of Tammany Hall politics. The strategic stockpile for our national defense was used to manipulate the free market and subsidize particular industries. Senator Symington said that the subsidizations resulted "in a dramatic price rise which forced the consuming public to pay higher prices. . . . This was done without public knowledge under a cloak of secrecy imposed because of the supposed demands of national security. . . ." War in this light becomes a sideline.

The danger in the far-reaching Pentagon complex is not McNamara's centralization. What is wrong is an old problem. Many present defenders of democracy would have been the last to think of this form of government, if it had not existed prior to their service to defend it.

CIA Recruit

by Gerald W. Johnson

By all means let us abstain from attributing motives. What Mr. Childs intended to achieve by this curiously muted novel is known to himself alone. One can only report the impression he has made, wittingly or not, on the mind of an individual reader. It is chilling.

Taint of Innocence
by Marquis Childs
(Harper & Row; $4.95)

The novel deals with one Robert Bruce Cameron, a brilliant and high-principled young American who was recruited by the CIA on his graduation from Harvard. As the story opens some years later he appears under the cover of First Secretary for Economic Affairs attached to the embassy at Sibai, a fictional, oil-rich, Arabian sheikdom, where the struggle to keep the oil out of Russian hands erupts in violence attributable in part to the defection of an old friend whom Cameron is compelled to expose.

It is a spy story, but one more in the tradition of Joseph Conrad and C. E. Montague than in that of Ian Fleming. Cameron is no superman and while he has ample courage, he has also a conscience shaped in the Protestant tradition of a man's individual responsibility for his own acts. He has long

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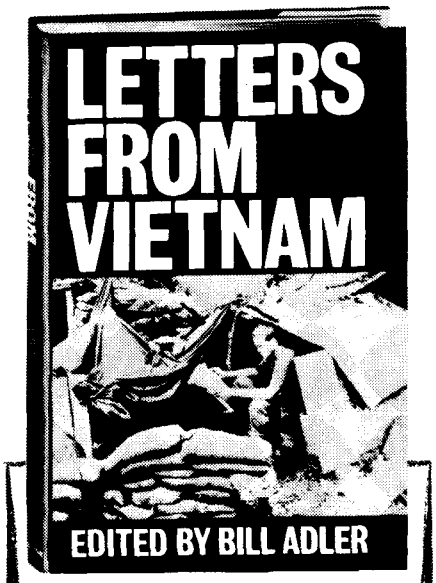

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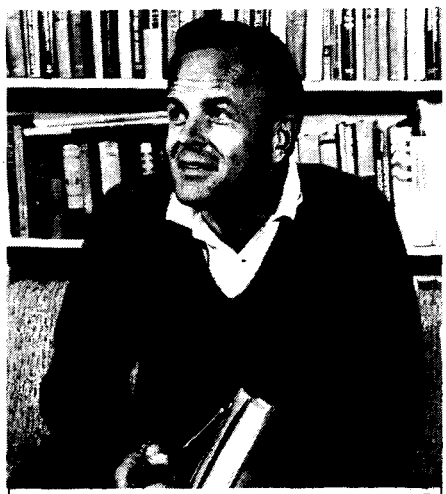

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outgrown the dogmatism of his parents, yet he cannot bend to the new doctrine of the nation as the keeper of one's conscience. The conflict breaks him, and that is the substance of the low-keyed, but gripping tale.

As a literary product, the book shows the fine craftsmanship that one expects of Marquis Childs, but that is of small importance by comparison with its philosophical implication. This is that once a man has consented to play the role of Judas, even from the highest motives and with no intrusion of the thirty pieces of silver, he is forever incorporated in the tribe of Iscariot and can never regain full membership in the fraternity of honorable men. To induce a young American of the finest type to make this irrevocable decision is justifiable only by the direct necessity, but Cameron was brought to it on the highly specious theory that we are contending against an implacable and conscienceless foe dedicated to our destruction and are therefore absolved of guilt if we employ against him every device invented by the infernal gods, including lying, theft, betrayal of trust, subornation of treason, and murder. No account was taken of the possibility that this implacable hostility arises from the resentment of people against whom we have been proclaiming implacable hostility for fifty years – except for a short interval when we needed their help against an even more dangerous foe.

Childs is doubly effective because he is so eminently reasonable. For instance, the American oil company operating in Sibai is presented, not as the conventional gang of ruthless freebooters, but as a comparatively decent outfit, paying good wages as well as fringe benefits and willing, at a pinch, to split the remaining profits 25-75 with the government. Nevertheless, the dedicated Cameron does find himself pulling its chestnuts out of the fire, which almost persuades him that he has sold his soul not to save his country, but to fatten the dividends of stockholders.

No wonder the Agency had to work hard and skillfully to bring him back into line. But it did, removing, in the process, the last taint of innocence. Thus, whatever his intent, Mr. Childs creates the impression that an American college might be justified, in extraordinary circumstances, in welcoming a leper to the campus, but never a CIA man!

G. K. Chesterton Protests

Alex Campbell, Medium

Joseph Sprug has provided a 427-page index to the contents of the 90-odd books that I wrote in my 62 years, before I went to Paradise by way of Kensal Green; and he has done so for a very paradoxical reason. "Chesterton," says Sprug, "wrote far too much for all of it to be good. The best book

An Index to G. K. Chesterton
edited by Joseph W. Sprug
(Catholic University; $6.95)

Chesterton ever wrote hasn't been written yet." Now, with Sprug's index, my collected works, and some math, a reader may produce his own "Chesterton synthesis."

Math is needed, because Sprug invokes "the algebraic law of proportions," in order to overcome what he calls "variation in pagination." If, for instance, you wish to know my view of mathematics, but find on consulting Sprug's index that your edition of the book in which I gave it is different from the edition Sprug uses, you calculate that the page number in his index is to the page number in your edition as is the total number of pages in Sprug's edition to the total number of pages in yours. This is the algebraic law of proportions. I trust that Sprug and I between us have made it clear. Here, incidentally, is what I wrote about mathematics. Defying the common idea that math is a dull subject, I paradoxically insisted in *Lunacy and Letters*, that "it is one of the most thrilling and tantalizing and enchanting subjects in the world."

My critics always said that paradox

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Nancy and John Seletti aren't trying to save the world. Just a little piece of it.

About a mile outside the Korean village of Ku Am there are a few dozen young, still-tender mulberry trees growing on a small hill. Someday these trees and their succulent leaves will be the heart of a new village industry—a silk raising farm. That day is still many months off, but it doesn't stop the village men from making daily inspection treks up the steep hill, just in case. Just in case something miraculous has happened since yesterday. After all, it wouldn't be the first miracle to happen in Ku Am. Everyone in the village knows the story of Chang Sook, the daughter of the widow.

Ten years ago Chang Sook's chances of survival were as slim as she was. Her father had disappeared during the family's flight from North Korea. Her mother, a seamstress, worked a backbreaking day and most of the evening to earn 10 a month. Barely enough to keep them from starving.

But today that's all changed because an American couple named Seletti are sharing a little of their good fortune with a girl to whom a little means everything. Nancy, John and five-year-old Alexandra Seletti are New Yorkers. They're not fabulously wealthy as the villagers of Ku Am believe. But, they're not poor either. *Comfortable* probably describes them best. They have everything they really need, but give them ten minutes and they'll come up with ten things they want that $15 a month would buy. Luckily they thought of Chang Sook first.

Through Save the Children Federation, the Seletti's $15 a month is doing a remarkable number of things. First, Chang Sook's immediate needs and future schooling are being taken care of. The family is getting help, too: Enough to enable Chang Sook's mother to start a small knit shop.

And with all this, there is still some money left over. This money, together with money from other sponsors, was borrowed by the village to start its precious mulberry farm. Someday silk raising will mean a permanent increase in the village's income—and permanently end the need for charity. That's what Save the Children Federation is all about. Although contributions are tax-deductible, it is not a charity. The aim is not merely to buy one child a warm coat, a new pair of shoes and a six month supply of vitamin pills. Instead, your contribution is used to give the child, the family and the village a little boost that may be all they need to start helping themselves.

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was my besetting sin. Contemplating the algebraic law of proportions, as employed by Sprug, compels me to reflect that they may have been right. Contemplating the Sprug index has a similar effect. "The highest use of the great masters of literature," I once paradoxically declared, "is not literary; it is apart from their superb style and even from their emotional inspiration." It is, it now seems, to be indexed with a view to being synthesized, which is not what I had in mind when I wrote that sentence in *The Common Man*, but may be my deserved punishment for overindulgence in paradox.

Sprug's index is not faultless. I paginated in vain for a reference to Kensal Green, and looked up "Paradise" only to have Sprug shrug me off with a curt "See Eden." Again, Sprug's index provides guidance to what I had to say about Tories, Torture and Torquemada; but not to what I wrote about the Tomato, in *Return to Chesterton:*

> "No subject has so deeply agitated modern life, or presented so profound a problem to the modern conscience, as the matter of the different pronunciations of the word 'tomato', and all lesser matters of morals, manners, religion, and civilization may well be set aside, and their barren quarrels suspended, while the vital matter is decided in the serious manner it demands. Already a divergence of pronunciation on this point has divided the two great Anglo-Saxon communities on whose friendship depends the peace of the world. . . ."

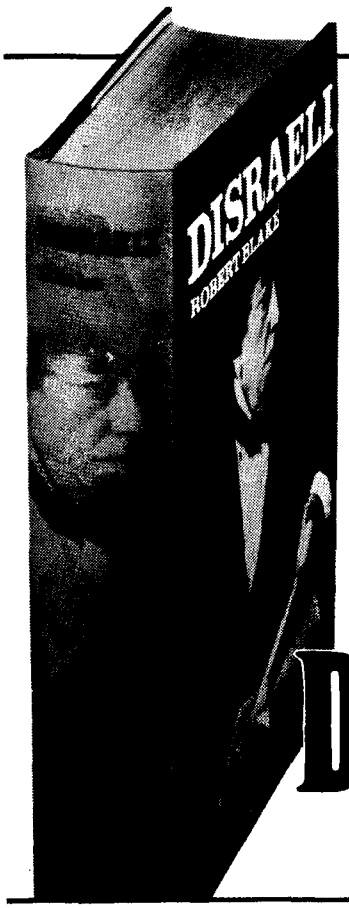
I have not altered my views on this topic, and see no reason why Sprug should ignore them. He is, of course, an American. This may also explain (I hope it does not) why he has chosen similarly to pass over in silence my advice as to how best to deal with financiers. You will find it in my *Tremendous Trifles*, where I wrote that the "power of wealth, and that power at its vilest, is increasing in the modern world," and suggested that, in order to guard themselves against the correspondingly growing power of our great financiers, "a very just people would have shot them long ago, from mere native good feeling."

On the other hand, in justice to Sprug, I must say that in going through his index I am reminded again and again of good things I said that I had almost forgotten and am glad to have recalled. Thus of the Boer War, a conflict now more than sixty years in the past but which still finds its place in Sprug, I made myself highly unpopular at the time by declaring: "A man who says that no patriot should attack the Boer War until it is over is not worth answering intelligently: he is saying that no good son should warn his mother off a cliff until she has fallen over it." I commend this to Vietnam critics, next time they are assailed for being nervous Nellies.

Today the Boers, and the Rhodesians, are defending a form of black slavery by pleading the need to retain a white aristocracy. Sprug reminds me I had something to say about that, too, that Mr. Arthur Goldberg might find useful in the United Nations: "Aristocracy [I wrote] uses the strong for the service of the weak; slavery uses the weak for the service of the strong."

It seems the world has not greatly changed since my day; and certainly not for the better. In Sprug's index of me, "Politics" and "Poor" take up a lot of space, but possibly less than if I were Mr. Michael Harrington. Shortly after my death in 1936 it was popular for a time to talk about this being the century of the Common Man. I do not wish to conclude my salute to Sprug on an unduly pessimistic note; but I am glad that he has indexed (under "Democracy – in Shakespeare") these words of mine:

> "The man who has dug and drained and ploughed and cut wood from the beginning of the world has lived under innumerable governments, sometimes good and generally bad. But, as far as we have ever heard of him, he has always sung at his work. The grave-diggers, the poor men, always sang at their work when they were building the tombs of the Pharoahs. And in our civilized modern cities they are still singing at their work, although the graves they are digging are their own."



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A Pacification Primer

by Asher Brynes

If one supposes, as does the Administration, that the North Vietnamese will be knocked out of most of their present interference with our "pacification" of South Vietnam by next year, he should begin thinking *now* how that hard-won peace is to be kept.

The current war is being fought almost wholly by American troops with local South Vietnamese regular forces nominally in reserve or performing guard duties. But if the Administration is correct, in the next phase of the conflict the Americans will have to shift positions smoothly, with themselves in reserve, hopefully remaining out of sight as much as possible, and the regular forces of the Republic of South Vietnam operating in the front.

The Reformation of War
by J. F. C. Fuller
(London: Hutchinson & Co., 1923)

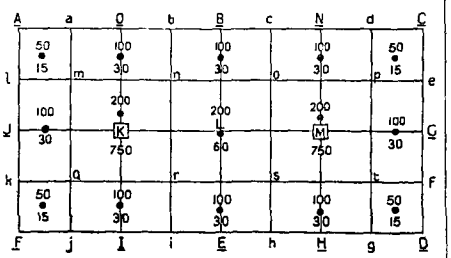
The strategy of *pacification in undeveloped countries* has been analyzed by one of the most remarkable military thinkers of our century, General J. F. C. Fuller.

As befits a technician with the breadth of mind to have read and digested Aristotle and Hegel along with his manning tables and engineering manuals, Fuller begins by setting down a number of general propositions. Since we are likely to have an immediate need for his practical advice, I begin with his specifics and revert briefly to his basic considerations at the end.

"The maintenance of law and order in undeveloped countries," he writes, "presupposes the rapid movement of small bodies of men so armed that they can break up hostile assemblies and consequently prevent them from solidifying into organized form." The only satisfactory way to do this "is to organize dispersion of force prior to the emergency; and this is best accomplished by establishing over the country in question a series of police posts which are sufficiently stable to resist attack and sufficiently mobile to assist each other."

He illustrates his solution with a technical example:

> "I will take an area of country six hundred miles long and three hundred miles wide which is in a disturbed condition, and then ask myself this question: 'What will be the most economical and efficient method of policing it?' To begin with I will split this rectangle into two primary squares, ABEF and BCDE, and each of these major squares into four minor squares; each minor square will then have a side of seventy miles.



> "In the center of each minor square I place a mobile group, shown by a black dot (in the figure above) or I run two or more squares together and place a dot in their center. At K and M I place a stable reserve, shown by a very small square."

The exact number of motorized patrolmen needed to cover each minor square will vary with the nature of the terrain they are responsible for as well as the characteristics of their equipment. Fuller estimates that on average fifty would suffice for each minor square. Then the area covered by the grid will

Notes on Contributors

Ronald Steel's *new book* Pax Americana *will be published in April.* Louis Coxe's *latest book of poems is* The Hero. Honor Tracy's *latest novel is* Men at Work. Morris Renek *is the author of* The Big Hello.

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contain 1,600 motorized patrolmen dispersed as shown, "which in principle is sound because this organization permits of a strong backbone of police running through the center of the country."

> "The above comprises the mobile element, but as mobility should always operate from stability, I will add two armored cars with 15-man crews, preferably half-tracks, to every 50 motorized patrolmen. This will enable these men to be supported by 48 armored cars. At K and M I place two tank and motorized artillery forces, the object of which is to supply stability to the mobile outpost organization."

After listing the six kinds of fighting forces who are to make up the two heavy-armed units in reserve at K and M, Fuller sums the whole and finds that in addition to the 1,600 patrol troops distributed in his 32 squares he needs 1,500 heavy-armed fighting personnel in his two stable reserve centers.

Applying this pacification procedure, the Americans presumably would man the two reserve centers only, and in normal times stay out of sight. The whole of the country would ordinarily be covered by motorized patrols consisting of regular South Vietnamese forces. When the South Vietnamese forces run into any trouble they cannot handle, they would be under instructions to take shelter in their defensive posts, and one or both of the heavy-armed teams at the American-manned reserve centers would sally out to become the mobile units of the pacification police organization. "As the rebels are unlikely to possess weapons which will impede these," says Fuller, "their effect should prove decisive."

Note an important point: the native soldiery on active patrol and the heavy-armed Americans normally in reserve are approximately equal in number, i.e. half and half, as are South Vietnamese and American fighting personnel in that country today. The only difference is that there would be far fewer of both, as befits pacification.

There are generally two serious difficulties, according to Fuller, in dealing with social upheavals in undeveloped countries. The suppression of disturbances normally requires bloodshed; and it is all but impossible to use naked force, meaning gunfire and explosives, against rioters or rebels without injuring innocent bystanders:

> "The whole difficulty is one of killing. First, is the dog mad, for otherwise I do not want to shoot him; secondly, if I fire, I shall probably hit the old lady on the other side of the street. But why kill, why shoot, why fire? Why not use common sense?"

The common sense of pacification is strict adherence to the principle that *the antidote to revolution is the maintenance of law and order without bloodshed*. "To kill sick men is no cure, and it exasperates the surviving relatives." Fuller's solution of the practical problem in places like South Vietnam suggests an interesting extension of the way the Americans are fighting there now. They defoliate trees in disturbed areas in the military phase of the conflict. Why not defoliate the rebels in such areas in the coming phase of pacification?

> "The means at our disposal must be sought for in the realm of the chemical sciences and not in that of military law and musketry. Innocuous gases which anesthetize crowds or temporarily blind them, cause them to sneeze violently, vomit, go to sleep, laugh irresistibly, or produce a violent though harmless distemper of the bowels, should be sought for by our chemists, who are far too prone to seek for lethal gases in place of those whose effect is sedative, soporific, mirthful or comic."

Fuller's rule is that military force is the antithesis of police force; therefore in peace (and in this instance, pacification) it is essential to transform the soldier into a policeman armed not to fight but to carry out a different function: "Like the Grecian heralds, the police do not apply the sword, but when two swords are drawn they strike them apart."

Is it possible for an air force to po-

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lice a country, and if it is not possible can air power assist in any way in the task of pacification? Fuller believes that the nature of air power rules out such direct use "because man lives on the earth and not in the air; consequently in the air the human touch is lacking . . . we cannot obliterate [rebel areas] by bombing men, women and children. We cannot do this because it is too easy to be practical." Yet it is obliteration, he notes, which air force officers frequently recommend:

> "Is then the air force useless in maintaining law and order? Far from it, if it be used, as every police force should be used, namely, to pacify, and not to obliterate. In the air it is a constant reminder that force can be applied, but I consider that it is not in this direction that its main usefulness is to be sought, but in its ability to transport political authorities to and from dissatisfied areas so that they may gain human touch with the causes of dissatisfaction and nip them in the bud."

So in the end Fuller leaves the nipping to politicians and says, "the British empire has not been built on obliteration but upon *pacification*." The underdeveloped but troublesome country he had in mind when he was writing in the early twenties was India.

Correspondence

The Cry of MacBird

Sirs:

I find it curious and distressing that a critic of the intellectual integrity and honesty of Robert Brustein should nowhere in his review of *MacBird* indicate that he may have a personal and special commitment to the play's acceptance and success. As Dean of the Yale Drama School, Mr. Brustein invited *MacBird's* author to Yale, provided her with a stipend, and has used *MacBird* as an example of what he is trying to create at Yale – a "third theatre" of social protest, distinct, among other things, from the commercialism of Broadway. After the complete debacle of *Viet Rock* in New York, another play whose author had been generously helped by Yale, The Yale Drama School quickly disassociated itself from the play and from the publicity connected with it. With the more successful *MacBird*, the association has been continually publicized, except in the one instance where it would matter: that the critic of the play for *The New Republic* was also the play's sponsor and patron to its author. That Mr. Brustein must have found merit in the play goes without saying. And because of his long and intimate acquaintance with the play, Mr. Brustein might still have been a reasonable choice as reviewer. But when he suggests that in *MacBird*, Barbara Garson has created something akin to an Aristotelian tragedy, when he cites as stimulating and audacious such ideas as the fact that politicians are interested in *power*, and when he ennobles the author of a play for which tickets are unavailable by seeing her as one who is enduring a terrible martyrdom, then one asks oneself if a patron of the arts really is the wisest person to criticize those same arts. Aren't we, after all, right in not inviting David Merrick to review his own productions?

Norman Plotkin
New Haven, Conn.

In reply:

Mr. Plotkin suggests that I am disqualified from reviewing *MacBird* 1) because Barbara Garson (along with six other playwrights) was awarded a writing fellowship at Yale, and 2) because I praised the play before its current production. Both propositions seem to me absurd. By this reasoning, any critic who applauds a work in print is prevented from judging it on the stage, and any critic who serves on a fellowship committee or a prize commission must forever keep silent about the work or the playwright he has helped to reward. I am not Mrs. Garson's patron nor am I her sponsor; the School of Drama did not produce *MacBird;* and I have no personal investment in the play other than a desire to share a good theatrical experience with as many people as possible. I scrupulously did not review *Viet Rock* because the Open Theatre produced that play at Yale (Mr. Plotkin, in what

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seems to me contradictory reasoning, appears to suggest that Yale should somehow have boosted its New York production), but I reserve the right to evaluate future works of Megan Terry, even though she is also a playwriting fellow at the School. If I had my way, and the necessary funds, every playwright of quality would have a fellowship at Yale or some other hospitable institution, because our writers need places to develop where Mr. Plotkin's marketplace vocabulary ("debacle," "success," "publicity," etc.) will least affect them. But I think it is for me to determine exactly at what point any association begins to affect my critical objectivity.

Mr. Plotkin obviously doesn't read very carefully. First he accuses me of pushing something called "the third theatre of social protest" when it is well known that I deplore social protest plays (the revolt described in my book, by the way, is purely a metaphysical term, first defined by Camus in *The Rebel*). And then he charges me with having said that *MacBird* was "something akin to an Aristotelean tragedy" when I had clearly stated it was the *authors* of dangerous works (and I included Lenny Bruce) who take on some of the characteristics of Aristotelean heroes through their tempting of fate: To expose on stage the lust for power of well-known American leaders, some of them very beloved, is indeed stimulating and audacious. I think Mrs. Garson is a brave woman – that her work has become "successful" in Mr. Plotkin's sense makes her no less brave – and if this thwarted theatregoer means to imply that she wrote her play in order to become rich, famous, and well publicized, then his reading of Mrs. Garson's motives is no more accurate than his reading of mine.

Robert Brustein

Pipers and Payers

Sirs:

Your call for reform of the laws regarding campaign contributions and their disclosure ("Pipers and Payers" March 25) reaches to the core of the questions of ethics and proper conduct which presently beset the Congress. One integral element in any program of ethics legislation must be adequate machinery to assure the broadest base from which the people may choose their representatives and at the same time require full disclosure of any associations which may breed conflicts of interest.

Public confidence in the Congress is seriously shaken in the nation today. In a democratic and representative society, the people have the right to demand of their representatives a standard of conduct above that of the marketplace, a standard of conduct that betrays no breach of their public trust. But if we in Congress are to regain the confidence of the people in our care of that trust, we must act decisively.

I recently introduced a package of six bills which would provide for:

(1) Full disclosure of income, gifts, real estate holdings, creditors, and business enterprises in which Members of Congress own stocks, bonds, or other securities, or are otherwise associated;

(2) Establishment of a permanent House-Senate committee on ethics and conduct with effective machinery for enforcement of standards of proper behavior;

(3) Formulation of a comprehensive code of ethics applicable to all Members of Congress, including rigorous conflict-of-interest and criminal provisions if necessary; and

(4) An increase in congressional pay and allowances, with corresponding increases in federal, executive and judicial salaries.

With regard to conflict of interest, the Congress has perpetuated an indefensible double standard, enacting comprehensive standards for the executive and yet failing to erect comparable standards by which to test its own conduct. My bill would immediately prohibit participation by Members of Congress in matters in which their official duties have or appear to have "a direct and predictable effect upon a private interest, as distinct from the public interest" of the Member, his immediate family, or any business enterprise with which he is associated.

In a framework of full disclosure, a uniform code of ethics, a rigorous standard of conflict of interest, and meaningful reform of the campaign contribution laws, substantial increases in congressional pay and al-

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lowances would, in my judgment, go far to relieve Members of reliance on outside sources of income and permit full attention to what is already a 12-month-a-year job.

Many are perhaps unaware of the extent to which ordinary expenses directly related to a Congressman's official duties go unreimbursed by public funds. The present travel allowance of four round trips per year to Members' districts is unrelated to the realities of the job of representation. Most Members of Congress must maintain dual residences in their home district and in the Washington area, with the concomitant increases in family travel and personal living expenses.

I think it is fair to say that a majority of my colleagues each year defray a substantial portion of their official expenses out of their own personal resources. Indeed, some have found it necessary to go into debt to seek or maintain their positions in office. No American should be denied the opportunity to serve in Congress for want of financial means. But once elected he must be free to devote virtually his full time and energies to the exercise of that paramount responsibility.

Running for Congress is not compulsory. But if we are to attract dedicated and talented men and women to serve, we must maintain adequate compensation and reasonable allowances to insure full-time service without the need to seek outside income. As a nation we cannot afford to do less.

Ogden R. Reid
Congress of the US

The Handicap of Dialect

Sirs:

The report "Overcoming the Handicap of Dialect" (March 25), unfortunately tends to perpetuate several misconceptions about dialect, in spite of its great interest. In the first place, there is a difference in popular and technical usage of the term: in the popular sense, "dialect" lumps together all deviations from an assumed norm, but scientific linguists apply it both more widely and more narrowly, to cover any subvariety of a language. In either sense, it is not correct to say that possession of a dialect is a "handicap" – what may be a social handicap, and what the article is really talking about, is a command of dialects restricted to those which are socially unacceptable in certain circumstances.

It is also not generally correct to ascribe the sort of colorful vocabulary given in Mr. Temple's report to dialect. These expressions are characteristic of secret languages (much Cockney vocabulary is also of this sort), and their use is generally far more restricted than that of dialects, to situations where the speakers specifically wish to bar comprehension (though naturally expressions from secret languages and slang may find their way into given dialects). To focus on the colorful vocabulary of secret languages very much obscures the nature of the problem of teaching speakers a full range of dialects.

No fluent speaker of a language confines himself to a single dialect. The wider his mobility in society, the more dialects he is likely to command, from formal to colloquial to highly elliptical styles. The language problem with groups which are socially dis-

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advantaged, therefore, is not that they may possess a dialect which is unacceptable in some circumstances (finding a job, etc.), but that, as a result of the isolation imposed on them by the wider society, they may come to have *only* such a dialect. The problem is one of increasing range of dialects, and not either of teaching a new language or "eradication" of a subvariety (which latter, incidentally, is not within the power of teachers or other authorities, for dialects of given groups are powerful expressions of group identity).

Karl V. Teeter
Acting Chairman, Department of Linguistics, Harvard University

Cops, Courts and Congress

Sirs:

Jon O. Newman's suggestion in "Cops, Courts and Congress – Is Citizen Safety Unconstitutional" (March 18) that the operation of *Mapp* and *Miranda* be rendered more flexible is most stimulating. Those historic rulings manifest the Supreme Court's insistence on protecting the individual, at no real cost to effective law enforcement, by reeducating the police in basic rights under the Fourth and Fifth Amendments, made applicable to the states by the "due process" clause of the Fourteenth.

As long ago as the thirties the Wickersham Report revealed the violation of civil rights which it regarded common practice by police. And as late as 1955, Dean Griswold stated: "It is difficult to see any improvements which have been made in this area since that time. Most of us simply shrug the problem off and feel that there is little that can be done about it." But the Warren Court determined that something must be done about it by filling the vacuum resulting from judicial and legislative inaction in the several states.

Mr. Newman holds that the *Mapp* and *Miranda* rules are too rigid. But he despairs of the Supreme Court's fashioning more flexible ones. Hence, he makes what he terms a "novel" proposal, *i.e.*, "the establishment of flexible rules of evidence" by federal statute basing it on Clause 5 of the Fourteenth Amendment which "specifically gives Congress the power 'to enforce by appropriate legislation, the provisions' of that Amendment."

However, I believe that Mr. Newman falls into error in identifying the search rules of *Mapp* with the interrogation rules of *Miranda*. Excluding evidence secured by unlawful searches – proscribed by the Fourth Amendment – to deter improper police practices is a rule of policy and probably lends itself to modification by legislation. But outlawing a prosecution based on a violation of immunity against testimonial compulsion is, inherently, a basic constitutional requirement, hence not so subject.

In *Miranda*, the Court itself clearly delineated a distinction which it draws between the potency and reach of the Fourth and the Fifth Amendments. In the case of the latter, it is no longer a question of invoking an exclusionary rule of evidence as a mere matter of deterrence but rather one of keeping – or of making – a defendant whole. He can only be kept or made whole by regarding the immunity against self-incrimination as absolute – barring any subsequent prosecution altogether

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based on its violation.

The only way, therefore, to avoid aborting prosecutions because of violations of Fifth Amendment immunities is to prevent those prerogatives from being violated! To this end legislation in the several states would be enacted that as soon as the police focus their attention on a suspect, if they wish to constrain him to interrogation, they must take him before a judicial officer. There – in a court house – not a police station – his questioning may be continued by the police in the presence of a magistrate. The magistrate will determine how long the interrogation may continue prior to either release or formal arrest and arraignment. He will advise the suspect of all his constitutional rights – *i.e.*, his right to counsel and that if he desires counsel and has no money the court would appoint counsel for him; his right to refuse to answer questions, and that if he chooses to speak, any answers he makes may be used against him. If the suspect is held, he will set reasonable bail. The magistrate's presence is intended to preclude the employment of brutality or coercion, mental or physical, by the police, thus aborting, in turn, dishonest, unfounded claims of police abuse and intimidation.

Such state legislation implementing the *Miranda* rule – the high court invites it – and federal legislation rendering the *Mapp* rule more flexible would reconcile public security with the imperatives of the Bill of Rights – and "could end the outrageous anomaly of present law by which dangerous criminals go free" – an end devoutly to be hoped for!

Samuel H. Hofstadter
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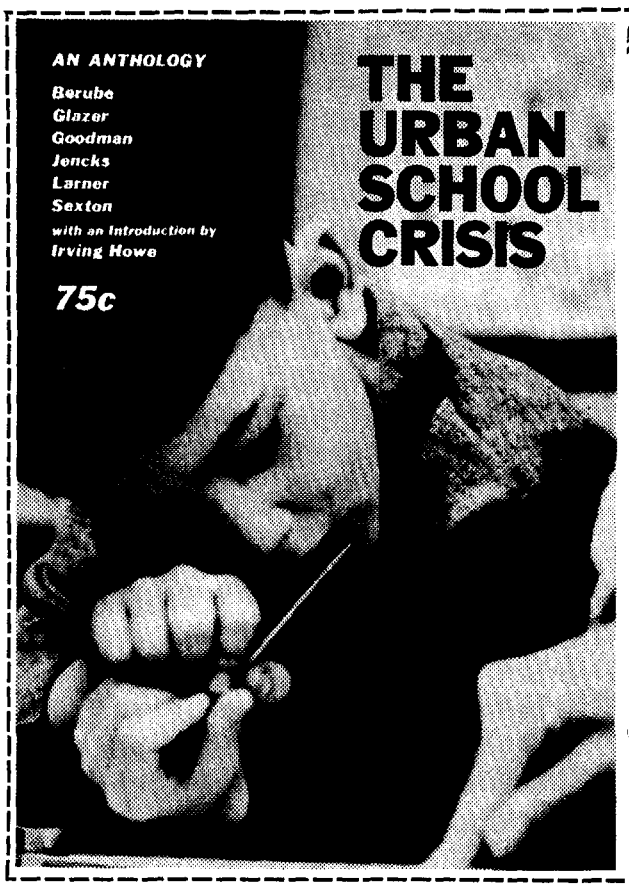
Kauffmann, *from page 26*

depth, so we get long sections, particularly toward the end, that detail irrelevances. Why do we need to know all about the early lives of the convict and the murdered man, years before they met? Why do we need the details of the journalist-son's love affairs? These and similar episodes, presumably meant as flesh on the novel's bones, are foam-rubber padding.

Worse is the consciously mysterious air of the book. Part of this hokey mystery comes from narrative devices, such as beginning a section by telling us that "a young man with a beard like cornsilk" has been sitting nightly in a New Orleans cafe, when both Wilder and we know that the man is John Ashley, soon to be named as such. (It reminded me of the wartime newscaster Gabriel Heatter who used to open portentously: "Tonight a man whom men call Churchill. . . .") To further this air of mystery, of a subworld of arcane wisdom, Wilder uses repeatedly the stock device of the tacit, gnomic seer. Male: an Indian youth, his grandfather, a Scots mine-superintendent, a cynical newspaperman. Female: a fortune-teller, an old hotelkeeper, a Russian exile. All of them are of that type so common in fiction and so rare in life who look quietly at strangers and immediately "know." They are meant to be Delphic but are only theatrical.

Still worse is the book's treatment of its theme, which is the *Our Town* theme of universality: the similarities of men and women of all times and places, the links between us all, the fact that no horizon is the end of any human landscape. Instead of dramatizing this theme or allowing it to permeate his novel, Wilder states it regularly so that we cannot miss it. Sometimes he even puts it in italics. (*Hills beyond hills, plains and rivers.*) Any feeble progress he makes toward establishing this theme is destroyed by the incredibly banal aphorisms that



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litter the book. Three from a long list:

"There is no true education save in answer to urgent questioning."

"Mysterious are the laws of sexual selection."

"Boys are filled with exhausting energies; they enjoy noise; they are (or where would we be?) adventurous and inquiring."

Even after the least portions of Wilder's lesser works, this kind of writing, with which the book is freighted, comes as a shock.

So his career remains a puzzle, not to be explained by sheer deterioration. Let us forget the young stylist of *The Cabala;* what happened to the valid Americanist of *Heaven's My Destination,* the prober of true mysteries in *The Ides of March,* the effective heart-tugger of *Our Town?* Possible explanations occur for his failure to realize his promise, but they all falter. Is it because he has spent much of his life as a wanderer and observer, unintegrated for long with any society or community? So did Ibsen and Strindberg. Is it because, admittedly, he derived much of his story material from literature rather than from life? Whisper the names of Shakespeare and Racine. Is it because he has remained aloof from 20th-century currents in sociology, politics, psychology? So – quite deliberately – did Nabokov and Waugh. And if these are high names against which to posit Wilder's, that only aggravates the puzzle, because it was on a high level that he was first hailed.

It is easy to see *what* happened: the thinning of the artistic blood, the substitution of the literary cracker-barrel for ruthless vision, of tinny contrivance for intricate jewelry. (And, to repeat, these changes were not unvaried; as with leukemia, there were remissions.) But *why* it happened – that is still a mystery. There is no question of sellout; Wilder is as sincere and enthusiastic as ever. But the art of the man who was once scolded for being too much of an artist has become simultaneously shriveled and bloated. The sad result is that, toward the end of his career, we have – from a man who has always meant well – a book that means nothing.

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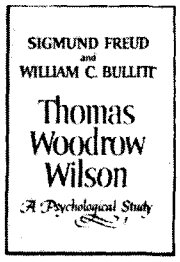

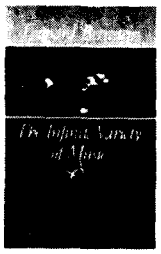

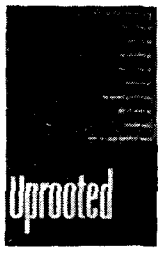

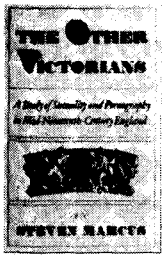

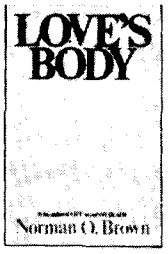

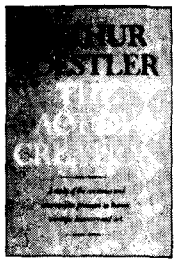

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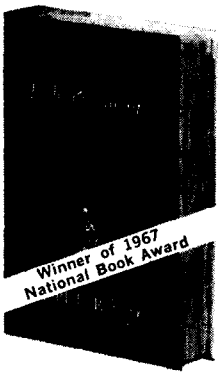

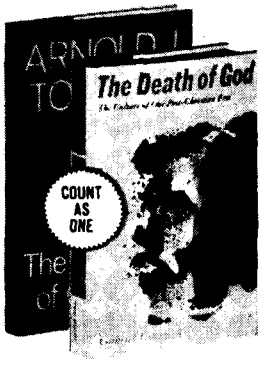

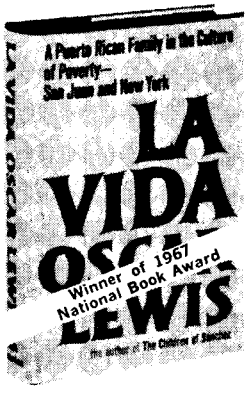

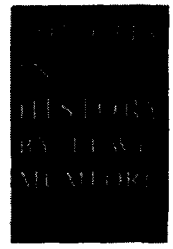

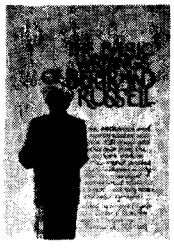

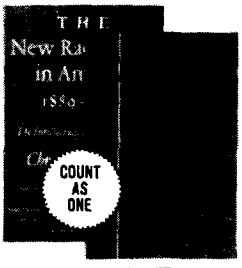

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